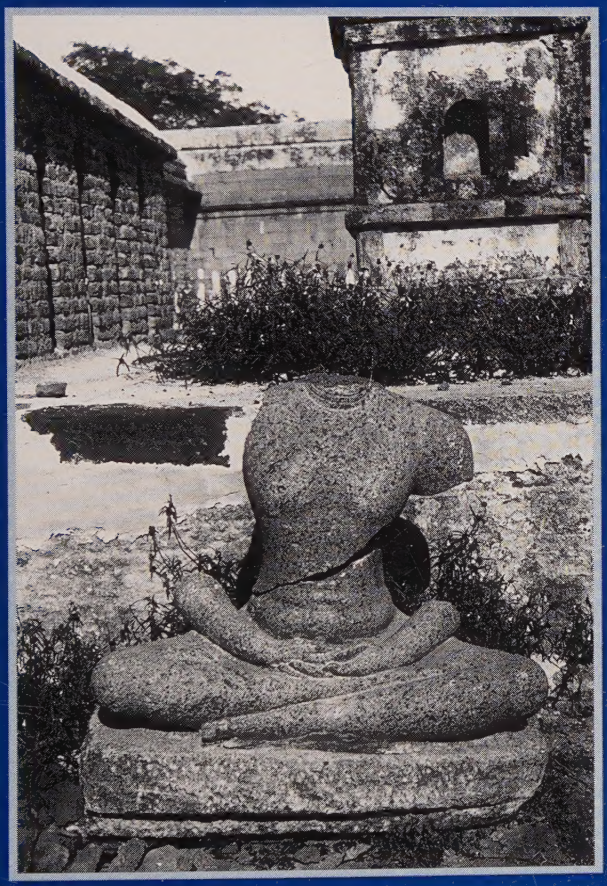
# Buddhism among Tamils in Pre-Colonial Tamiḻakam and Īḻam



## Part 2

The Period of the Imperial Cōḻar. Tamiḻakam and Īḻam

**Editor-in-Chief:**
**PETER SCHALK**

Co-Editor:
Āḷvāppiḷḷai Vēluppiḷḷai

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# Buddhism among Tamils in Pre-Colonial Tamiḻakam and Īḻam

## Part 2

The Period of the Imperial Cōḻar. Tamiḻakam and Īḻam

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**Abstract**

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This book focuses the initial establishment of Buddhism, its institution building, religious manifestations and transformations among Tamils in the political history of Tamiḻakam [=Tamiḻ land in South India] and Īḻam [= Tāmraparṇī, Siṃhala, Ciṅkaḷam, Laṃkādīpa, Lanka, etc,] during the pre-colonial period from the 4th up to the 14th century. It contains identifications and comparative interpretations of sources in Tamiḻ, Pāli, Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Sinhala, all pertaining to Buddhism in relation to Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism, and Jainism. Studies of the *maṇimēkalai* are not included here. They have already been published in 1997 as a separate volume in Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Historia Religionum 13, under the title, *A Buddhist Woman's Path to Enlightenment. Proceedings of a Workshop on the Tamiḻ Narrative Maṇimēkalai, Uppsala University, May 25–29, 1995.*

Having introduced in part 1, in chapters 1.1. and 1.2., the fundamental and technical terms pertaining to the study of Buddhism among Tamils in the pre-colonial period, this work continues with a presentation of the sources in chapter 1.3, a history of the research done in chapter 1.4, and important surveys of the history of Buddhism among Tamils in chapter 2. It then proceeds diachronically with a deepening study of Buddhism among Tamils from the pre-Pallava period in chapter 3, via the Pallava period in chapter 4 to the period of the imperial Cōḷas in part 2 in chapters 5 [Tamiḻakam] and 6 [Īḻam]. In chapter 7, some selected Tamiḻ Buddhist texts are presented in transliteration and new translations. There is a map showing the most important places of interest for Buddhists during the pre-colonial period. There is also an index listing the most important religious terms in Tamiḻ, Sanskrit, Prakrit and Sinhala pertaining to Buddhism among Tamils, as well as a list of references.

Buddhism had always been a minor religion among the Tamils before it vanished finally after a millennium of marginalised existence in the 14th century. It had failed to establish itself. Jainism was in a similar exposed situation, but chose other strategies and fared somewhat better. A comparison between the struggles of these two religions to establish themselves against each other, and against Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, is made in this book.

Another geographical area of comparison is Buddhism among Tamils in Tamiḻakam and Īḻam. Tamils were in a majority in Tamiḻakam where Buddhism was a minor religion, but they were a minority in Īḻam where Buddhism was a majority religion. Survival strategies had to be adapted to these different situations, but all the strategies failed.

So, there is a threefold comparison, diachronic, inter-religious and intra-religious, between different schools and sects within the same religion, and region.

This work is definitely not about a heroic march towards a victory for Buddhism among the Tamils. Instead it describes the rather pathetic history of a religion that failed to be recognised in Tamiḻ society in the pre-colonial period in Tamiḻakam. This is remarkable because Tamiḻakam was at times encircled by strong Buddhist cultures in Āntiram [Āndhra] and Īḻam. In Īḻam, another problem appeared in the colonial and post-colonial period—the communalisation of Buddhism that turned Buddhism among Tamils into an anomaly on the religious map.

Although the history of Buddhism among the Tamils was relatively short and lies in the distant past, this study offers a differentiation of concepts and adds facts that challenge the present ongoing ethnonationalist discourse in South Asia. It is oriented towards a simplified reconstruction of the "origins".

This work is a result of interdisciplinary collaboration between five scholars from Tamiḻakam, Īḻam and Sweden. These scholars are: Dr. Irāmaccantiraṉ Nākacāmi [R Nagaswamy], retired Director of the State Department of Archaeology, former Vice-Chancellor of Kāñcīpuram University, Ceṉṉai, India. Dr. Civacuppiramaṇiyam Patmanātaṉ [S Pathamanthan], professor, Department of History, formerly Yāḻppāṇappalkalaikaḷakam [Jaffna University], now Peradeniya University, Peradeniya, Īḻam. Dr. Peter Schalk, professor, Department of the History of Religions, Uppsala University, Uppsala, Sweden. Dr. Turaicāmi Tayāḷaṉ [D Dayalan], Superintending Archaeologist, Archaeological Survey of India [ASI], Bangalore Circle, India. Dr. Āḷvāppiḷḷai Vēluppiḷḷai [A Veluppillai], professor, formerly Department of Tamiḻ, Yāḻppāṇappalkalaikaḷakam, Yāḻppāṇam (Jaffna), Īḻam, visiting professor at Uppsala University, and Dr. h.c., Uppsala University, Uppsala, Sweden.

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# 5.1. Introduction. Buddhism under the Imperial Cōḻar

*Peter Schalk*

## 5.1.1. Cōḻa Endurance with Buddhism

The Cōḻar suffered a political eclipse from the beginning of the Pallava period. They returned to power when King Vijayālaya took Tañcāvūr in about the middle of the 9th century. Their empire under Parāntaka I (907–955) included, of course, the Cōḻa heartland from the pre-Pallava period in the Kāviri delta with Pukār, Tañcāvūr, Nākapaṭṭiṉam, and Uraiyūr as the centres. The Pāṇṭiyar in Maturai were defeated in the 10th century. Īḻam was conquered during the period 993 to 1070. Under Kulōttuṅka I (1070–1120) Īḻam was lost, but the Cōḻar compensated for this by expanding their territory to the River Krishna in Āntiram in the north and to the southern tip of India, including the region of the Cēras and Pāṇṭiyar. There was also a martial and commercial relation to Sri Vijaya [Sumatra] from 1025, and diplomatic missions to China.[1]

The Cōḻar conquered Kāñci and made it part of their kingdom. They also took with them to Kāñci their pragmatic evaluation of other religions. Therefore it is not surprising to find Buddhist traces in Kāñci from the Cōḻa period.

The Cōḻar were Śaivas. Some could not endure other faiths, as for example Kulōttuṅka II, whose life will for ever be connected with the persecution of Rāmānuja. Other rulers endured other faiths, but kept them at a distance. To hold an empire together needs pragmatism, compromise, calculation—and the courage to endure other religious organisations. The main problem was to avoid open intra-religious conflicts between the Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas, but there was also a problem in avoiding inter-religious conflicts between them and the Jains and Buddhists. Irācarācaṉ included in the decoration of his Civaṉ kōvil in Tañcāvūr elements of Vaiṣṇavism and Buddhism; at least that is how they have been interpreted by modern interpreters.[2] I have, however, my doubts. There were limits to the endurance of the Cōḻa rulers.

True, Irācarācaṉ's sister built three temples, one to Civaṉ, one to Perumāḷ [Viṣṇu] and one to a Caiṉa saint, but none to Buddhism. Also, I doubt that he went so far as to integrate Buddhism in its own right in the form of sacred sculpture in his centre of Śaiva piety, the Brhadīśvara temple of Tañcāvūr. What I refer to is the *tripurāntaka* episode that is depicted on a panel at Bṛhadīśvara temple at Tañjāvūr built by Irācarācaṉ (985–1014). In section 2.1.3.2. Irāmaccantiraṉ Nākacāmi has retold a normative Sanskrit version of this episode. The *tripurāntaka* episode was also objectified by the Śaivas. Śiva in his form of *tri-pura-āntaka* destroyed three cities built by asuras. In-

[1] See Karashima, "The Power Structure of the Chola Rule", pp. 233–238.
[2] Nilakanta Sastri, *The Coḷas*, p. 643.

Fig 22. Photograph of a Tripurāntaka scene. [See section 5.1.1].

cluded in this episode is the conversion of the asuras to non-orthodox religions by Viṣṇu to invoke Śiva's rage against them. One of these religions could theoretically have been Buddhism. Let us test this possibility.

On the northern wall of the Bṛhadīśvara temple at Tañjāvūr this scene of the destruction of the asuras is depicted.[3] Here the gigantic figure of Śiva is shown on a chariot driven by Brahmā. He is in the pose of a warrior, with eight arms holding various weapons. His bow in his left hand is made of Mount Meru with Vasukī, the great snake, for its string. Śiva with his flaming eyes is about to destroy the asuras, portrayed in front with equally fierce eyes, flaming hair and upraised weapons, fighting and dying. Śiva is flanked by Kārttikeya on a peacock, and Ganeśa and Kāḷi on a lion. There is no explicit indication of Buddhism in this panel. Only by projecting Buddhism onto the asuras, which would be like moving in a circle of argumentation, can one arrive at the conclusion that an indirect reference to Buddhism was made by Irācarācaṉ.[4]

Furthermore, there are two bas-relief panels, one on the inside wall of the Irācarācaṉ kōpuram and the other on the balustrade of the flight of steps on southern side leading to the ardhamaṇḍapa. They depict buddha-like figures. They have misled interpreters for decades who have taken them for buddha statues.[5] Turaicāmi Tayāḷaṉ has identified one of the figures as Viṣṇu convert-

[3] This interpretation of the panel was made originally by Turaicāmi Tayāḷaṉ in the 1980s, who published it later. I find it convincing. See D Dayalan, "Hymns of Nayanmars…"
[4] See Dayalan, "Hymns of Nayanmars…"
[5] See for example Panabokke, *History*…, p. 141.

ing the asuras to a heterodox religion.[6] This interpretation seems reasonable. In no version of the episode is a buddha the agent; usually it is Viṣṇu.

If we go to a 14th century Tamiḻ text that represents a normative Caiva tradition, the *kāllāṭam*, we find not even an indirect allusion to Buddhism regarding the *tripurāntaka* episode.[7]

In the *kāllāṭam,* Nāraṇaṉ[=Viṣṇu] teaches the arakkar *eḻuvāyt tarukkattu*, "primary logic",[8] which conveys no specific associations to Buddhism, but it seems to be dangerous knowledge. So there is no indication of Buddhism in the most famous of all Tamiḻ Caiva sanctuaries. We do not need to construct a Cōḷa philosophy of tolerance, especially regarding Irācarācaṉ.

The *kāllāṭam* uses the word *arakkar* [*rākṣasāḥ*][9]; only the commentator uses the word *acurar* [*asurāḥ*]. The arakkar masses had three leaders. Except for these three, all of them give up *aruccaṉai* [Sanskrit *arccanā*], "worship", of Civaṉ.[10] Even though the arakkar were Caivar, their crime is said to have been oppressing the tēvar, "gods". The three fortresses were destroyed by Civaṉ's smile. Elaborate arrangements were made for Civaṉ's fight, but he was able to destroy the arakkar with a smile.

Of the three who did not given up aruccaṉai, two were made guardians of *kāval maruvutal,* a "neighbourhood assignment". The third was made a musician who played the *kuṭamuḻā* instrument.[11] The masses of misled arakkar, who had once been devotees, died in the fire, but they were rewarded with *ulavā poṉṉ ulaku*, "imperishable heaven".

To sum up, in connection with the tripurāntaka episode there is no mention of non-orthodox religions and no mention of an appearance of a buddha in the *kāllāṭam,* which represents a normative Caiva tradition. The arakkar are depicted as Caivar, albeit corrupt ones. They learn primary logic [and not Buddhism]. What then remains is a Sanskrit tradition as described in section 2.1.3.2., but not even this tradition explicitly mentions Buddhism. It speaks only of anti-Vedic asurāḥ. Furthermore, it can only be conjectured that this Sanskrit version was in use during the reign of Irācarācaṉ and was exploited by him. Even if it was used with the intention of teaching Buddhism, the outcome is very negative for Buddhism, for the heterodox religions are depicted as hostile in this episode. This reminds us of how the Pallavas integrated a buddha as an avatāra in his capacity as a bewilderer. The tripurāntaka episode cannot be used to attribute to Irācarācaṉ a tolerant attitude towards Buddhism. The complete absence of Buddhism in his main temple shows that it was not even endured there. Irācarācaṉ suffered Buddhism at a distance: it could be used for establishing commercial contacts, but was not allowed to cast the merest hint of a shadow on the holiest sanctuary of Tamiḻ Caivam at his time.

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[6] See Dayalan, "Hymns of Nayanmars…" For a Buddhist interpretation see Aiyappan, Srinivasan, *Story of Buddhism…*, Plate XXXVI.

[7] I thank Ālvāpiḷḷai Vēluppiḷḷai for the following description from the *kāllāṭam*.

[8] *kallātam mulamum uraiyum*, line 16.

[9] kallāṭar, *kallāṭam mulamum uraiyum*, line 17.

[10] Ibid., line 16.

[11] Ibid., lines 30–32.

The practice was continued from the Pallava period of giving of endowments, known as *paḷḷiccantam*, which were a category of land on which a paḷḷi stood and which were granted free from tax. A paḷḷi was a Jain temple. The word paḷḷiccantam was also extended to comprise tax-free land for Buddhist vihāras,—but not of course on the premises of the Brhadīśvara temple at Tañjāvūr. Of foremost interest for us is that Irācarācaṉ donated a village to supply a pauttappaḷḷi in Nākapaṭṭiṉam. It was given the name *irācarajapperumpaḷḷi* referring to a mahāvihāra of Irācarācaṉ.

This paḷḷi is also known as *cūḷamaṇivarmavihāram*. It was constructed at Nākapaṭṭiṉam on the initiative of the Śailendra kings from Sri Vijaya [Sumatra], Cūḍ(ḷ)amaṇivarman and his son and successor, Śrī Māra Vijayottuṅgavarman. The project was accomplished with the support of the contemporary Cōḻa Kings, Irācarācaṉ (985–1016) and his son Irācēntiraṉ [Rājendra] I (1012–1044). Due to Cōḻa influence another paḷḷi with the same name, irācarajapperumpaḷḷi, and reminiscent of the vihāra in Nākapaṭṭiṉam was established in the east of Īḻam (see sections 6.15. and 6.16.). Here we have an example of how a common name can be transposed.

In Nākapaṭṭiṉam, we find three kinds of Buddhism. The first, the one in the bronze pedal inscriptions, is so close to Śaivism that it is difficult to distinguish between Buddhist buddhology and Śaiva theology. Here Buddhism is on the way to being assimilated.

The second kind of Buddhism supported by the Cōḻas is documented in the *vīracōḻiyam* and its commentary; it is an emotional and devotional form of Mahāyāna that also comes close to Caiva patti, and it appealed to Tamiḻ sentiments: the relation between Avalokiteśvara and Civaṉ was mediated through the personality of Akattiyār [Sanskrit Agastya]. So it required no great mental stride for the Cōḻas to be aware of these two kinds of Buddhism in Nākapaṭṭiṉam. In addition, Nākapaṭṭiṉam connected the Cōḻar with South-East Asia and East Asia via the transnational trade routes. Strong pragmatic aspects can be identified.

The third kind of Buddhism was the one represented by some of the Pāli ācariyas. We know that they were also endured in Nākapaṭṭiṉam during the Cōḻa period, but they were evidently secluded, because they left no traces in the documents produced by the Cōḻa establishment. The Buddhism of Nākapaṭṭiṉam patronised by the Cōḻas had nothing to do with the tērar. These still did not use Tamiḻ, they have left no trace in the inscriptions on the bronzes and they do not appear in the *vīracōḻiyam* and its commentary. Not even the polemic of the nāyaṉmar and āḻvārs against the tērar was recorded by the Cōḻa establishment. The *civañāṉacittiyār* does not identify these tērar, and the *periyapurāṇam* and the Jain polemic is vague on this aspect.

Today, nothing is left of Nākapaṭṭiṉam's Buddhist sanctuaries, but in many parts of the Coromandel coast we find stray remnants of Buddhism, above all images of stone that do not perish. Turaicāmi Tayāḷaṉ presents in section 5.2. a list of recent important finds, mostly going back to the Cōḻa period. To this

list can be added an earlier list by Cīṉi Vēṅkatacāmi,[12] who travelled along the Coromandel coast in the 1930s, and the list made by Minakshi, concentrating on the area around Kāñci.[13] Kōpināta Rāv published a list for the Malabar coast, especially from Travancore in 1908.[14] To this should be added A S Menon's list from 1967,[15] which covers the Coromandel coast generally. The problem with many of these stray finds is that they are taken out of their ritual context, a vihāra. They are found in some Caiva kōvil and the original placement has been forgotten; it may not exist any more. I have given some examples of this phenomenon in section 1.1.2. An iconographic analysis has only been made for some, which makes it impossible to classify all according to schools of art and to date them exactly. Much work remains to be done, not to mention the tumuli identified by the ASI that are expected to contain Buddhist remains. A study of their present, ritual, Caiva context can be used as explanation of how Buddhism became assimilated and died out.

### 5.1.2. The *kuṇṭalakēci* and the *nīlakēci*

During the Cōḻa period important works were produced relevant to our study. One of them was the Jain work *nīlakēci* from the latter half of the 10th century. It is analysed in this volume by Āḷvāppiḷḷai Vēluppiḷḷai in sections 2.4.8 and 5.4., together with its commentary and the *kuṇṭalakēci*. The Jain *nīlakēci* is a rejoinder to the Buddhist *kuṇṭalakēci*, the last of the five long narrative poems. The anonymous author of the *nīlakēci* claims that he is narrating a story that appeared in his dream. The Buddhist *kuṇṭalakēci* was not able to survive the disappearance of the Tamiḻppautta community. The surviving Tamiḻ Caiṉa community managed, however, to preserve the Caiṉa *nīlakēci*. The story is about an ex-demoness, a convert to Jainism, who roved around with newly found religious zeal disputing and trying to destroy other religions. Though many religions succumbed to her demonic zeal, it is clear that Buddhism was the main target. About 500 stanzas in fiveeighths of the book deal with polemics against Buddhism and apologetics for Jainism. Four teachers of Buddhism, from Kuntalakēci in the second chapter to a buddha himself in the fifth chapter, were challenged by Nīlakēci, who was devastating in her criticisms of Buddhism. Vāmaṉamuṉivar's commentary to this work from about the 14th century is very important as it quotes profusely from the *kuṇṭalakēci* and argues vehemently against the Buddhists.

Āḷvāppiḷḷai Vēluppiḷḷai concludes in section 5.4. that the appearance of works like the *kuṇṭalakēci* and the *nīlakēci* and then the commentary to the *nīlakēci* appear to be unfortunate from the point of view of the welfare of these two religions. They were both minority religions that received some patronage

[12] Vēṅkatacāmi, *pauttamum…*, p. 97–103.
[13] Minakshi, *Buddhism…*, pp. 103–104.
[14] Rao, "Buddhist and Jaina Vestiges in Travancore", pp. 115–130 [with Plates].
[15] Menon, *A Survey of Kerala History*, p. 91.

from the Cōḻa kings. The Jains, who probably also received help from Karnāṭakam, where Jainism was important up to about the 12th century, prospered, as illustrated mainly by their literary activities during the Cōḻa age.

### 5.1.3. The *tirukkalampakam*

From about the same period as the *nīlakēci*, Utīttēvar's *tirukkalampakam* is also strongly critical of Buddhism. Āḷvāppiḷḷai Vēluppiḷḷai presents this work in section 2.4.8. and 5.5. Utīcittēvar is referred to in the payiram, "introduction", as *cākkiya kuṭaraṉ*, "he, an axe to/against the Cākkiyar [=Buddhists]".

The *tirukkalampakam* takes over some of the well-known attributes and epithets of gods and goddesses in the patti religion, but it is very selective and very hard on some aspects of that religion. It apportions special condemnation to Buddhists. Regarding this text and the *nīlakēci* commentary, Buddhism, in its period of decline and disappearance among the Tamils, seems to have suffered very much at the hands of the Jain scholars.

### 5.1.4. The *civañāṉacittiyār*

Śaiva verbal criticism of Buddhism and Caiṉam was intense during the reign of the Cōḻas. There is a systematic refutation of four schools of Buddhism in a Tamiḻ Caiva text called *civañāṉacittiyār* [*śivañāna siddhi*] from the middle of the 13th century when Caiva speculation reached a peak. These fours schools were Sautrāntika, Yogācāra, Mādhyamika, and Vaibhāṣika. The author is Aruṇanti Civāccāriyar, also known as Cakalākama paṇṭitar, of Tiruttuṟaiyūr.[16] There is a special section in the *civañāṉacittiyār* called *parappakam*, "side of the others", dedicated to this refutation. Those on the other side have to be rejected, but those described in the section called *cuppkakkam*, "own side", have to be accepted. I have published here a new translation together with the complete transliteration of the *parappakkam*. Both have been made by Āḷvāppiḷḷai Vēluppiḷḷai.[17] I refer the reader also to his introduction in section 6.1.1. in this volume. The numbers to the texts below indicate the sections of this volume.

6.1.2.1. *cauttirāntikaṉ matam*, "The School of the Sautrāntika",
6.1.2.2. *cauttirāntikaṉ mata maṟutalai*, "Refutation of the School of the Sautrāntika",
6.1.2.3. *yōkācāraṉ matam*, "The School of the Yogācāra",
6.1.2.4. *yōkācāraṉ mata maṟutalai*, "Refutation of the School of the Yogācāra",

[16] For bibliography of editions and commentaries of this work vide *LTL*, pp. 74–75.
[17] There is an older German translation with elaborate notes by the translator. Vide *Aruṇantis Śivañānasiddhiyār. Die Erlangung des Wissens um Śiva oder um die Erlösung*, pp. 387–509. There is an elaborate modern commentary in English in Gopalakrishnan, *A Study of Śivañāna Siddhiyār Parapakkam*. For a thematic summary of the content see Sankaranarayan, "Polemics...", pp. 423–448.

6.1.2.5. *māttiyamikaṉ matam*, "The School of the Mādhyamika",
6.1.2.6. *māttiyāmikaṉ mata maṟutalai*, "Refutation of the School of the Mādhyamika",
6.1.2.7. *vaipāṭikaṉ matam*, "The School of the Vaibhāṣika",
6.1.2.8. *vaipāṭikaṉ mata maṟutalai*, "Refutation of the School of the Vaibhāṣika".

The *cauttirāntikaṉ matam*, is a sub-school of the Hīnayāna school known as Sarvāstivāda. It can be documented for the 2nd century BC in Bhārhut and Sāñcī. This school did not recognise the Abhidharma tradition as valid and focussed on the *sūtra*-collection. The *cauttirāntikaṉ matam* school is criticised by the Śaivas because of its allegedly wrong teaching about liberation reached by the annihilation of a group of *kantam* [*skandha*](*120*). The buddha is not omniscient (95). The *piṭaka* has no authority (103), it is a book of lies (104). To venerate a puttar who is annihilated is like supplying ghee and a wick to a lamp that has been put out (105). Not everything is impermanent, the soul is permanent (108, 122). A creator is required (112) to explain existence.

The *yōkacāraṉ matam* is a well-known Mahāyāna trend of ideas. The *yōkacāraṉ matam* is criticised because of its wrong teaching about liberation by the recognition that what exists is nothing but a series of ideas. It states that the world is a dream, but a dream contains objects experienced in waking life (136).

The *māttiyāmikaṉ matam* is another well-known Mahāyāna trend of ideas. It is criticised because it [allegedly] teaches that the senses and their objects are closely connected. Since there is no body, there is no intelligence. This is not accepted (138, 139).

The *vaipāṭikaṉ matam* is better known as the Hīnayāna school Sarvāstivāda, which produced a commentary on the Abhidharma known as *Vibhāṣā* in the 2nd century AD. This school's various commentaries are also called *vibhāṣā*. The *vaipāṭikaṉ matam* is criticised by the Śaivas because of its wrong teaching about liberation through the annihilation of knowledge. It does not deserve a further refutation (142). One would have expected to find the sthaviras (theras) as representatives of Theravāda in this work. There is no hint of them.

Here is not the place to correct the Śaiva understanding of Buddhist schools. Here is the place to characterise this understanding. It evidently was intended to alienate Buddhism and Buddhists. The Śaiva text always starts with a descriptive presentation of a school's doctrine. It is intended to be non-partisan, but refutations and pejoratives are already included. Then follows the rejection proper, which is mainly doctrinal. The text is ornamented with "honorifics" like "stupid", "idiot" and "fool" as attributes of Buddhists. The intellectual incapacity of Buddhist is regularly highlighted.

The polemic does not highlight the bad habits of the monks, Buddhist ethics and rituals, as in the Nāyaṉmār's polemic. It tries to pinpoint inconsistencies, contradictions and absurdities in the Buddhist doctrine proper. There is no

attempt to find any points they might have in common. The refutation is radical and uncompromising. There is no evidence of pragmatic rulers' attempting to integrate Buddhism in a Vaiṣṇava or Śaiva fold. There is no allusion to the doctrine that makes a buddha an avatāra of Perumāḷ or Civaṉ. This is a rejection without compromise—and that is the point. There is no justification for Buddhism of any school to exist in Tamiḻakam.

This text is, however, not a source for which schools actually existed in Tamiḻakam in the middle of the 13th century. It is a source for what some Tamiḻ Caiva paṇṭitar knew about Buddhism. Their refutation is a stop-sign to all the Buddhist schools mentioned attempting to establish themselves in Tamiḻakam. The text is also an exercise in the logic and rhetoric of refutation for young paṇṭitar, independent of the existence of the schools in Tamiḻakam. Those who insist on making this parapakkam text a source for the existence of four Buddhist schools in Tamiḻakam in the 12th and 13th centuries should consider that it was modelled on the *Sarva-Darśana-Saṃgraha* by Mādhava (1197–1276). He also distinguished between those on the other side and those on his own side.[18] In his rejection of Buddhism, he also took up just these four schools: Sautrāntika, Yogācāra, Mādhyamika, and Vaibhāṣika.[19] There is, however, in contrast to Aruṇanti Civāccāriyar's presentation, a non-sectarian tone of reconciliation in Mādhava's descriptive presentation that has no pejoratives or sections of explicit refutation. The factual description was its own refutation. Mādhava found a pleasure in the manifoldness of religious forms: "Who finds not delight in a garland strung of various flowers?"[20]

Aruṇanti Civāccāriyar was a contemporary of Mādhava, who lived not far away, in present-day Maisūr in Karnāṭakam. Both followed a convention of identifying Buddhism with these four schools. They obtained their information about them not only from Buddhism, but also from post-Vaitīka traditions about Buddhism. Therefore, we sometimes have difficulty recognising as Buddhist what they ascribe to Buddhism. They objectified these four schools independently of these schools' existence in their own surroundings. Therefore, we can safely say that these schools were established in the mind of Śaiva paṇṭitar, but whether they were established as actual physical institutions or within other institutions is another question.

### 5.1.5. The *periyapurāṇam*

We should note that in the 12th century the polemic tradition of the nāyaṉmār was collected by the court poet Cēkkiḻār into an epic work known as *periyapurāṇam*, "the great purāṇa", composed in about 1135, with Kulōttuṅka II

[18] Madhva Acharya, *The Sarva-Darsana-Saṃgraha*...

[19] Ibid., p. 12–25. Schomerus stated that Madhva lived in the 14th century and that he did not differentiate Buddhism into these four schools. Vide *Aruṇantis Śivañānasiddhiyār*.... pp. 1–5. These statements prevented Schomerus from seeing a possible connection between the two.

[20] Madhva Acharya, *The Sarva-Darsana-Saṃgraha*..., p. 1.

(1133–1155) as the patron.[21] It was read throughout the remainder of the pre-colonial period and is still read today, thereby preserving and reviving an anti-Buddhist polemical tradition. This is not only interreligious; there is an intra-religious polemic also. Those Caivar who are not dedicated are criticised. It is a form of self-criticism and self-purification of Tamiḻ Caivam that takes violent forms, combining *vaṉmai*, "violence" and *aṉpu*, "love" into violence out of love for Civan against oneself and others.[22]

Cēkkilār in his *periyapurāṇam*, in which he collected stories about these hostile anti-Pautta and anti-Caiṉa nāyaṉmār, reproduced and transmitted this polemic in the tradition of these nāyaṉmār to the 12th century. Well known is the story about Cākkināyaṉār in the *periyapurāṇam* 3636–3653. He converted from Pauttam to Caivam. He had gone to Kāñci to reach *ñāṉam*, "wisdom". First he came to know *aṟam*, "*dharma*" [here Buddhism], and learned *cākkiyartām moḻi*, "the language of the Śākya [=puttar]". He also examined all established post-Vaitīka religions, *āṟucamayam*, "religions of the six (gods)", [which are Civaṉ, Perumāḷ, Vināyakar, Murukaṉ, Cūriyaṉ and Catī]. He chose Civaṉ for himself. Out of dedication and devotion to Civaṉ, he daily threw a stone against the *civaliṅkam*, it being a token of Civaṉ. Civaṉ was happy about this in the same way as a parent when a child behaves naughtily.

The *cākkiyar* [=Buddhists] now appeared to Cākkināyaṉār as ignorant, but he still remained a Buddhist in his outer appearance. The *vēṟu*, "transformation", was only in his mind. The reason for this is not made explicit. Whatever the religious/speculative explanation given, his position as Caiva in disguise among Buddhists gave him a good opportunity to undermine Buddhism.

Now back to Cēkkilar. He wanted to turn the king's attention away from Jainism [and from Buddhism]. He did it by idealising Śaivism to the detriment of Buddhism and Jainism. Cēkkiḻār, whom I regard as a spokesman of the official Cōḻa religious ideology, was himself part of the political administration of the Cōḻa court as a "minister" under Kulōttuṅka II (1133–1150).[23] His story about Cākkināyaṉār focuses on his message: Śaivism alone out of all the religions practised in the Kāñci of the Pallavas and Cōḻas contains the ultimate truth. It implicitly rejects Jainism and Buddhism as objects of royal patronage. This work does not even advocate Cōḻa endurance with Buddhism. The Cōḻa rulers, however, were not completely overwhelmed by Cēkkiḻār's polemical presentations and some of them chose not to live up to his expectations of them.

## 5.1.6. The *vīracōḻiyam*

I have already mentioned the interpretation of the *vīracōḻiyam* from the 11th century, dedicated probably to the ruler Vīracēntiraṉ Cōḻaṉ (1063–1069),[24] by

[21] TLi, p. 173. *LTL*, p. 131–132.
[22] Vamadeva, *The Concept of vaṉṉaṉpu*,"*Violent Love*"…
[23] For this dating of Cēkkiḻār vide *LTL*, pp. 131, 546.
[24] For this identity excluding others see the discussion in LTL, pp. 587, 772.

Puttamittiran [Sanskrit Buddhamitra]. In this work, Avalōkitaṉ [Avalokiteśvara] takes the place of Civaṉ as the Tamiḻ teacher of Akattiyaṉ [Agastya]. This work has been classified as a transfer grammar for Buddhists speaking an Indo-Aryan language who want to learn Tamiḻ, and as a grammar for inscriptional Tamiḻ.[25] Anne Monius has made clear that this grammar anticipates an audience of multilingual connoisseurs who are not only well versed in literature, but have a sophisticated grasp of literary theory as well.[26] It represents a self-declared effort at mediating between two literary languages, at attempting to incorporate into Tamiḻ grammatical and literary theory a variety of Sanskrit linguistic and literary forms. It shows the ways in which the Tamiḻ language participates in the transregional culture of Sanskrit, but it focuses on a Buddhist community.[27] Anne Monius has also identified a strong influence from the concept of the self-sacrificing bodhisattva in the commentary to the *vīracōḻiyam* by Peruntēvanār [Mahādeva], who lived shortly after Puttamittiran.[28]

In section 6.2. of this volume, Āḷvāppiḷḷai Vēluppiḷḷai has given the important Buddhist passages from the *vīracōḻiyam* and its commentary in transliteration and translation.

Āḷvāppiḷḷai Vēluppiḷḷai has observed in section 5.6. that the commentator does not seem to be aware of the existence of the *maṇimēkalai*, the extant Buddhist narrative poem, much talked about now. Even the *cilappatikāram*, so closely associated with the *maṇimēkalai*, was not known to him. Peruntēvaṉār, the author, refers in his commentary to many literary works among the *eṭṭuttokai* and the *patiṉeṇ kīḻkkaṇakku*. He quotes two narrative poems, the Buddhist *kuṇṭalakēci viruttam* and the Jain *utaya(ṇa)ṉ katai* as examples in four and three places respectively. These are important facts highlighted by Āḷvāppiḷḷai Vēluppiḷḷai, important because they implicitly question the common view that there was a continuous reception of the twin poems. We have to distinguish between tradition and revival. The latter was started with Cāminātaiyar's editions of the texts in the 1890s. Āḷvāppiḷḷai Vēluppiḷḷai's observation implies that one of the most important Tamiḻ Buddhist texts, the *maṇimēkalai*, has no continious tradition in the collective consciousness of the Tamils.

## 5.1.7. The Pāli Tradition during the Cōḻa Period

### 5.1.7.1. Anuruddha

Under the Cōḻas, Pali studies flickered into life again due to the monks' connections with Īḻam. Anuruddha was a monk who summarised the *Abhidhamma* in two works called *Paramatthavinicchaya* and *Nāmarūpaparicceda*.[29] He came from Kāverīnagara in the Kingdom of Kāñci, but lived in a

[25] A Veluppillai, "Viracoozhiyam as a Grammar for Inscritional Tamiḻ", pp. 345–348.
[26] Monius, *InSearch*..., p. 187.
[27] Ibid., p. 210.
[28] Ibid., pp. 219–233.
[29] HPL, § 163.

town called Tañja in Tamba [raṭṭha].[30] He is dated to the shift between the 11th and 12th centuries.[31] Tamba is not Tambapaṇṇi,[32] and the fact that he lived in the Kingdom of Kāñci does not place him in the Pallava period.[33]

In the *Jinālaṃkāra* from the 12th century we find the compound *coḷiyatambaraṭṭha* where allegedly learned men lived.[34] So we can presume that *tambaraṭṭha* was in the Cōḷa country. This is also made clear in the remarkable incident about Parakkamabāhu II (1236–1271, 1236–1270), whose ambition was to purify the insular *saṃgha*. To help him he called on the Coḷiya bhikkhus from *coḷamahāraṭṭham*. Among these were some that lived permanently in *tambaraṭṭham*.[35]

The incident about this purification is remarkable because it gives an unexpectedly positive image of the situation for Buddhism in the Cōḷa area in the 13th century. We have to accept what this passage in the *Cūḷavaṃsa* refers to, namely to a cultivation of Buddhist studies in a limited area called *tambaraṭṭham*, which probably also included Nākapaṭṭiṉam and the Pāli Buddhist establishment there.

### 5.1.7.2. Ānanda

Ānanda, known as *sīhaḷa ācāriya*, is the author of the *Upāsakajanālaṅkāra*.[36] It is a handbook for *upāsakas*, but it contains important information relevant for our study of Buddhism in Tamiḻakam.

There was *pure*, "in the past", a Buddhist monk known as Lokuttama of Sirivallabha. There lived *paṇḍubhūmaṇḍale*, "in the hemisphere of the Paṇḍu earth" a *sāmantabhūmipa*, "feudatory ruler", known as Coḷagaṅga, who was a *vaññu*. He built three vihāras. Of these three vihāras, one was called *guṇakāraperampalli* by the learned. It was known to the people as *pharaṇi*. When the entire land of *laṃkādīpa* was confused by the *damiḷānala*, "Tamil conflagration", the theras, seeking their own protection for the well-being of the *āgamaṃ*, came and dwelt there.[37]

The text is vague, but we can think of the monk Lokuttama of Sirivallabha as a person who convinced Coḷagaṅga to patronise three vihāras that were used as refuges for monks from *laṃkādīpa* during difficulties created by *damiḷas*. There is a controversy about whether the *damiḷānala* took place be-

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[30] Paramattha-Vinicchaya, p. 337.
[31] PL, p. 151.
[32] HPL, § 348 has here "Tamba (Ceylon?)" probably associating to *tambapaṇṇi*. But the text has *tambaraṭṭha*, which is important for this context.
[33] See Gunawardana, *Robe…*, p. 266.
[34] Jinālaṅkāra 1955, p. 31.
[35] *Cv* 84: 9–12. For a refutation of Paranavitāna's identification of *tambaraṭṭha* with Ligor see Gunawardna, *Robe…*, pp. 267–268. The statement that Buddharakkhita, the author of the Jinālaṅkāra, was in *tambaraṭṭham* can not be verified. See Gray, "Introduction", p. 8. For a good summary of the discussion see Sirisena, *Sri Lanka…*,pp. 88–99.
[36] *Upāsakajanālaṅkāra*.
[37] Ibid., p. 357–358

fore Māgha or if it was Māgha's own *damiḷānala*.[38] If it took place during the reign of Māgha, the dating of the text to the second half of the 12th century must be abandoned. For us it is important to notice that a *sīhaḷa ācāriya* together with his fellow monks was able to preserve the *āgama* in Tamiḷakam.

The reason for placing the *perampaḷḷi* in Nākapaṭṭiṇam because of the name of the well-known perumpaḷḷi is not convincing. The document does not say rājarājaperumpaḷḷi. Perumpaḷḷi does not refer to a special mahāvihāra. It just refers to a *mahāvihāra*. The text is clear: the *perampalli* was in *paṇḍubhūmaṇḍala* where the *sāmanta* had a holding. This text is important because it is the only one where we find an endurance with Buddhism within the Pāṇṭiyar area during the Cōḷa period. It is one of the few texts that provide evidence of royal patronage of Buddhism in Tamiḷakam—though I have to add that this king was not a real king. He was *sāmanta*, a feudal lord, who had some freedom that the king had not, but never mind.

### 5.1.7.3. Kassapa

The monk Kassapa Coḷa who lived in the 12th century[39] is allegedly the author of the *Anāgatavaṃsa*.[40] To him is also attributed the *Vimativinodanī*,[41] in which he attacked a former monk from Damiḷaraṭṭha who had launched the view, also taught by the Abhayagiri, that only intentional consumption of liquor was an offence.[42] In the *Sāsanavaṃsa* he is said to have lived in *damiḷaraṭṭha*.[43] More precise information is obtained through his *Mohaviccedanī*. He belonged to an *aditavippavaṃsa*,[44] which reveals him to be a high status *brāhmaṇa*. In a later tradition, in the *Vinayasāratthadīpanī* by Vācissara, he was remembered as *coḷāvanipūjita*, "praised on the Cōḷa ground", because he strictly observed the *sikkhā* and because he was like a lion in fighting *kudiṭṭhi*, "bad view(s)".[45] In the *nigamana* of the *Mohaviccedanī,* we learn that he lived on the banks of the Kāviri in Coḷaraṭṭha in a Nāgānavihāra built allegedly by a Rājādhirāja.[46] It has been suggested that this Rājādhirāja was Rājādhirāja I (1018–1054).[47] I say "built allegedly" because this king was known not for his patronage of Buddhism, but for performing *aśvamedhas*. He should not be mistaken for Rājarāja I or the vihāra for the *rājarājaperumpaḷḷi* of Rājarāja. [48] Furthermore, the *nigamana* verses do not actually ascribe the

[38] The former stand is taken by Saddhatissa in *Upāsakajanālaṅkāra*..., p. 45 and HPL § 386. The latter is taken in Liyangamage, "A Forgotten Aspect...", pp. 95–141.
[39] PL, p. 147 dates him to 1160–1230.
[40] HPL, § 200.
[41] HPL, § 338.
[42] *Vimatīvinodanī*, pp. 94–100.
[43] *Sāsana*vaṃsa, p. 33.
[44] *Mohavicchedanī*, p. 359 [=nigamana].
[45] The *Vinayasāratthadīpanī* is here quoted after the introduction to the *Mohavicchedanī*..., p. XI.
[46] *Mohavicchedanī*..., p. 359 [=*nigamana*]. HPL, § 354 states that it was built by this king.
[47] HPL, § 354. The dates of this king vary. HPL, § 354 gives 1014–1044.
[48] This blending has been done in Warder, "Preface", p. xvi, who also thinks wrongly that this vihāra built by Rājarāja was called Nāgapaṭṭana and therefore could be identified with Kassapa's Nāgānavihāra.

building of Kassapa's vihāra to Rājādirāja. They say only that the area was under the rule of the *vaṃsa* of Rājādhirāja.[49] He cannot credibly be made a patron of Buddhism. He did not involve himself in the patronage of the *rājarājaperumpaḷḷi* of his grandfather and father. Their involvement only inspired Kulōttuṅka Cōḷaṉ I (1070–1122), and the patronage also ended with him. Moreover, there was also Rājādhirāja II (1163? 1179?). The selection of Rājādhirāja I is therefore arbitrary. The *nigamana* verses are not clear with respect to the dating of Kassapa, but if he lived towards the end of the 12th century—his *Mohavicchedanī* has been dated to about 1200[50]—Rājādhirāja II becomes more plausible as the referent to the Rājādhirāja in the *nigamana* verses. Neither Rājādhirāja I or II showed any inclination towards Buddhism at any time.

A Nāgānavihāra is not known elsewhere. It looks like a corrupt form. Another version has Nāgajjunavihāra.[51] This may also be corrupt. It cannot be presumed that Kassapa lived in the remains of the Buddhist establishment of the Cūḷāmaṇivarmavihāram at Nākapaṭṭiṉam built in the 11th century by the kings of Sri Vijaya, and to which endowments were made by the three Cōḷar, Irācarācaṉ (985–1016), Irāccentiraṉ (1012–1044) and Kulōtuṅka Cōḷaṉ (1070–1122). Pāli had a tendency to reproduce Tamiḻ perumpaḷḷi as *perampalli,* or to translate it as *mahāvihāra*, but this was not done in the case of the *nigamana*. This passage is not then a source for a connection between a Pāli Theravādin and the famous perumpaḷḷi of the Cōḷas, but it is a source for the fact that the Pāli commentator Kassapa was endured by the Cōḷas, at least Kassapa himself interpreted his situation in this way. A confirmation from the Cōḷar is missing. Moreover, Kassapa and other Theravādins have not left a single trace in the remains of this perumpaḷḷi or in any inscription from the Cōḷar. The Nāgānavihāra or Nāgajjunavihāra may refer to another vihāra than the famous perumpaḷḷi of the Cōḷar.

Kassapa lived at a time when in Īḷam islanders suffered from the ransacking of their monasteries by the Cōḷa armies. We are told in the vaṃsa-tradition that mahātheras had gone to *paṇḍucoḷādiraṭṭham*,[52] "to the country of the Coḷar and Paṇḍu and other countries", but were brought back to assist Vijayabāhu in his struggle against Coḷa occupation. Evidently these Cōḷar, having supported Buddhism among Tamils in Nākapaṭṭiṉam, induced some confidence in the monks from the island. This indicates, as has been pointed out by Warder, that the ransacking by the Cōḷar on the island was done without religious motives.[53] The Cōḷar just wanted and needed to ransack. Of course it was not only for fun: they needed wealth, as George Spencer has shown convincingly, to reaffirm the hero-credentials of kings and princes, to provide potentially restless vassals and their troops with profitable employ-

[49] *Mohavicchedanī*, p. 359 [=*nigamana*], verse 47.
[50] HPL, § 354.
[51] HPL, § 354.
[52] *Cv* 81: 21.
[53] Loc. cit.

ment in distant places, and to secure access to free-floating resources, such as jewels and other valuables which were not firmly embedded in local communities.[54]

Raids, war, plunder and pillage was part of a redistributive process in the economy of the Cōḻar. They were no sign of strength, but were compensatory activities to strengthen the centre in weakly integrated political systems, according to George Spencer.[55] In the same way, we notice the megalomania expressed in the monumental sacred architecture exhibited in buildings like the Bṛhadīśvara temple in Tañcāvūr, which was supported through bonded labour and labour from three villages in Īḻam. Evidently, the Cōḻar saw Īḻam as a source of economic exploitation.

Buddhist monasteries on the island had much of what the Cōḻar needed. The question whether they liked or disliked Buddhism is in this context irrelevant from their point of view, but of course not from the point of view of the victims. As mentioned before in section 1.1.3., they saw the ransacking as an anti-Buddhist act.

Evidently, the Cōḻar needed the Buddhists in Nākapaṭṭiṉam whether they liked them or not. Therefore, they showed endurance with a man like Kassapa and let him live and fight "bad views", i.e. probably also their own view, Śaivism.

Kassapa also represented something other than Pāli Buddhism. He was a self-conscious Coḷiya monk who did not hesitate to challenge the Buddhist establishment in Īḻam by promoting orthodoxy against what he believed was corruption of the *dhamma*. There were claims to hegemony of the truth from the islanders as expressed in the *Sīmālaṅkāra*, where the views of Coḷiyans on the *sīmā* are rejected as false.[56] I can imagine that the Coḷiya monks were not happy about such claims.

True, what Kassapa tried to establish was finally overrun: he could not stem the massive Tamiḻ Caiva, Vaiṇava and Caiṉa criticism against Pauttam; but the fact that he could survive at all in a hostile surrounding was due to the pragmatic endurance of Cōḻa rulers during a short period in the history of Tamiḻakam. There were still Coḷiya monks during the reign Parakkamabāhu II (1236–1271, 1236–1270). He caused them to be called because they were well versed and disciplined.[57] There were still on the island during the time of Vijayabāhu IV (1271–1273, 1270–1272), we learn from the vaṃsa-tradition, *bahū paṇḍucoḷaraṭṭhavāsinaṃ*, "many residents of the Paṇḍu and Coḷa land" who were bhikkhus and to whom the king sent gifts.[58] The last reference to a *coḷiya* monk comes during the period of King Parakkamabāhu IV (1302–1332, 1302–1326). This king invited a *mahāthera* from *coḷadesīyaṃ*[59] to be his

[54] Spencer, *The Politics of Expansion*, p. 5.
[55] Ibid., p. 42.
[56] *Sīmālaṅkāra*, pp. 42–43.
[57] *Cv* 84: 9–10.
[58] *Cv* 89: 67–68.
[59] *Cv* 90: 80.

teacher and appointed him to a vihāra.[60] The Coḷiya Theravādins were renown for their scholarship and autonomy, not only among famous rulers like Parakkamabāhu II (1236–1271, 1236–1270), also known as *kalikālasāhiccasabbaññupaṇḍita*.[61]

What interests us finally, however, is whether their work was received in a Tamiḻ Pautta tradition. Pro-Buddhist traditions in addition to the Pāli ones during the Cōḻa period in Tamiḻkam were the following:

1. Buddhism at Nākapaṭṭiṉam is documented through Tamiḻ royal inscriptions, sacred architecture, bronze artifacts, and inscriptions on these bronzes as presented in sections 2.2.11.-2.2.14., 5.3. They show no influence from Pāli Buddhism. The frequent appearance of the word tērar during the Pallava period completely disappeared during the Cōḻa period in Tamiḻ documents.
2. Buddhism at Mūlavāsam is documented through the *Mūśikavaṃśa* in Sanskrit and a Tamiḻ inscription as presented in section 5.1.10.1. These documents show no influence from Pāli Buddhism.
3. Buddhism as depicted in the *vīracōḻiyam* and its commentary is presented in sections 5.1.6, 5.6. It shows no influence from Pāli Buddhism.

We have access mainly to buddhology in these Tamiḻ traditions. It does not show any influence from a Pāli Theravāda tradition. This is remarkable because we know that the Pāli *ācariyas* were close by. This buddhology had other sources of inspiration: Tamiḻ Caiva theology and Sanskrit Mahānāya buddhology. So the only concrete case of an influence from Pāli Buddhism on a Tamiḻ Pautta tradition during the Cōḻas remains the influence on the formation of a Tamiḻ version of the *kuṇṭalakēci,* as described in detail by Āḷvāppiḷḷai Vēluppiḷḷai in section 5.4.2., and as earlier indicated by P V Bapat[62] and Oskar von Hinüber.[63] This confirms my earlier suggestion from sections 4.1.2.3. and 4.1.2.4. that the Pāli learned tradition was transmitted mentally and physically apart from the development of the great Tamiḻ Caiva tradition, mainly as a result of a deliberate strategy to use Pāli only and to concentrate on the heartland of the Cōḻas only. This created an impasse in Tamiḻakam for the Pāli ācariyas. It undermined their position and contributed to their final disappearance. Evidently, they could not even overcome a traditional sectarian attitude that prevented them having a dialogue with the Mahāyānists.

### 5.1.7.4. *coḷiya* and *damiḷa*

I mentioned that Anne Monius has recently tried to show that the monks writing in Pāli in Tamiḻakam were identified or identified themselves as *coḷiya or damiḷa*. Thereby they indicated their belonging to a particular saṃgha, distinc-

[60] *Cv* 90: 99–100.
[61] *Cv* 82: 3.
[62] Bapat, "Vimati-Vonodani,…", pp. 689–694.
[63] *HPL*, §§ 338, 449.

tive, but not separated from the Mahāvihāra tradition in Anurādhapura.[64] I agree, but I have a problem here in presenting *coḷiya* and *demaḷa* as interchangeable.

The reader of the Pāli vaṃsa-tradition will soon observe that Buddhist monks from Tamiḷakam are never characterised as *damiḷa*, but as *coḷiya*, although the compilers of the vaṃsa-tradition were well aware that these monks were de facto *damiḷa*. One exception is the commentator Kassapa who in the *Sāsanavaṃsa*, which is from Burma, is said to have lived in Damiḷaraṭṭha.[65] This is, however, "corrected" by G P Malasekere to Coḷa country.[66] Why was it impossible for a paṇḍita king like Parakkamabāhu II (1236–1271, 1236–1270), whose ambition was to purify the insular *saṃgha*, to call for help from a *damiḷa bhikkhus* instead of a *coḷiya bhikkhus* from *coḷamahāraṭṭham*?

We notice that this same paṇḍita king, who praised the Coḷiya monks, condemned the *damiḷa*. His first action after his coronation was to fight the Damiḷas.[67] He sees himself in a succession of famous fighters of the Damiḷas from the dawn of history and he enumerates them: Asela (155–145, unknown), Duṭṭhagāmaṇī (101–77, 161–137), Vaṭṭagāmaṇī (43, 29–17; 103, 89–77), Dhātusena (455–473, 460–478), and now himself (1055–1110).[68] Fighting the Damiḷas became an ideal venture during his time, impelled and compelled by the influence of a monumental and heroic writing of history.

The Damiḷas were in no way eradicated after Vijayabāhu's victory. Damiḷa kings like Māghinda [=Māgha] and Jayabāhu had established settlements within Pulaṭṭhinagara [Polonnaṟuvai, Polonnaruvā] and places in the Vaṉṉi and in the Yāḻppāṇam [Jaffna] peninsula.[69] Therefore, the paṇḍita king had to fight all these Damiḷas who were mixed up with Kēraḷas.[70] His ambition was driven by a classical motive—the island was and has to be ruled by a Buddhist.

> *Tasmā kudiṭṭhirājūnaṃ vase Laṅkā na tiṭṭhati,*
> *Sammādiṭṭhikarājūnaṃ vase sammā pavattati*[71]
> "Therefore, Lanka stands not under the authority of kings of wrong views, (but) prevails correctly under the authority of kings with right views".

There seems to be a special point in avoiding the use of *damiḷa* to characterise a Buddhist monk, even if he comes from *damilaraṭṭha* and even if he is an evil monk like *coḷika* Saṃghamitta, as described in section 4.2.2. This has to be explained: monks are not characterised as *damiḷa*; fighters, however, are characterised as both *coḷiya* and *damiḷa*. In the case of fighters, different aspects of the referent are focussed on. When a fighter is characterised as *coḷiya*, he is

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[64] Monius, *In Search...*, pp. 191–200.
[65] *Sāsanavaṃsa*, p. 33.
[66] Malalasekere, *The Pali Literature...*, p. 160.
[67] *Cv* 82: 6.
[68] *Cv* 82: 19–26.
[69] *Cv* 82: 15–18.
[70] *Cv* 82: 20.
[71] *Cv* 82:19.

seen as coming from a territory named after his rulers' dynasty. A fighter who is *coḷiya* cannot be *paṇḍu* or *keraḷa*. *Coḷiya*, like *paṇḍu*, is a demonym, a name that refers to all inhabitants of the state Coḷiyam, having a territory named after the original dynasty. In Coḷiyam there may be several ethnies speaking different languages and belonging to different faiths. To be a Coḷiya does not commit and limit a person to membership of one ethnie. We could also say that their ethnicity is suspended for the moment, not eliminated. It can be re-enacted any moment.

When a fighter is characterised as *damiḷa,* his ethnie is envisaged. *Damiḷa* is not a demonym, but an ethnonym. It is associated to language and culture and to a certain territory, as is made evident in the term *damiḷaraṭṭham*, which may not be identical with *coḷiyam* or *coḷiyadesa* and which is seen from another aspect. The former is a linguistic-cum-cultural territory; the latter is a politically conceptualised state formation. Therefore it is rational to speak about a *Damiḷa* among the Coḷiyas and among the Paṇḍus.

In the section about Vijayabāhu's's liberation of Pulaṭṭhinagara from the Coḷiyar there is a constant shifting between *coḷiya* and *damiḷa,* both terms being applied to the enemy, but it was the ethnonym *damiḷa* that catalysed the fear, anger and hate of the victims of *Coḷiya* attacks. *Damiḷa* was a pejorative and therefore unsuitable to be applied even to an evil Buddhist monk like Saṃghamitta. The concept of *coḷiya*, however, suspended ethnicity and could therefore be used at the court by the Buddhist king. It is possible to honour a *Coḷiya*, but not a *Damiḷa*.

There are sensitive borderline cases, for example, a good *Damiḷa* like Eḷāra. Our *paṇḍita*-king from the 13th century, when referring to Duṭṭhagāmaṇī as an ideal Tamiḻ fighter in the past, said about him, *Elāraṃ Coḷiyam jitvā…*,[72] "Eḷāra from Coḷiyam having been driven away...". The point here is that Eḷāra is *not* classified in the *Cūḷavaṃsa* as damiḷa, as were the other *Damiḷa* rulers who were seen as villains. True, Eḷāra was eliminated, but with honour. There was a great difference between being eliminated with or without honour in this martial culture. Evidently, there was a shift of connotation regarding the word *damiḷa* when applied to Eḷāra. In the early *Mahāvaṃsa,* he is defined as *damiḷa* before the word had become a pejorative. In the *Rājavaliya*, however, a Sinhala chronicle from the 17th century, Elāḷa [=Eḷāra] is transformed into an evil man. He is described as an invader and he ruled *adharmayen*, "unjustly",[73] which contradicts the *Mahāvaṃsa*. Nothing is left of his just rule. One of [Duṭu]gāmu's fighters addressed him as *nivaṭa demaḷo*,[74] "worthless [silly, crude] Tamiḻ !", thereby emphasising his ethnicity. The Cōḷaṉ has finally been identified as Tamiḻ. This is embarrassing for some ethnonationalists today because it implies that they have to acknowledge the existence of a Tamiḻ kingdom under Elāḷa. Thus, even today, I have found the idea among

[72] *Cv* 82: 22.
[73] *Rājavaliya* [Suravīra], p. 175.
[74] Ibid., p. 189.

some Sinhaḷa ethnonatioanalists that Eḷāra was not a *Damiḷa*, but a *Coḷiya*. The two concepts are presented as incompatible. A learned, elderly, Lankan Buddhist monk from the Buddhist vihāra in New York, the Kurunägoḍē Piyatissa, made a public speech on 28th October 2000 in Stockholm on the invitation of the Olof Palme Foundation and the Christian Socialists who wanted to initiate peace talks. In a passage of his speech, the monk declared, repeated and insisted that Elāḷa was not a *Demaḷa*, but a *śoli* (Coḷiya). There is a special point about this [unhistorical] polarisation. The gain is two-fold: the honourable status of Eḷāra can be preserved together with the trustworthiness of the *Mahāvaṃsa*, and Eḷāra cannot be taken as confirmation of the existence of a *Damiḷa* kingdom on the island in the centuries BC.

There is another special case. When we come to Vijayabāhu, seen as an ideal by the paṇḍita king, the latter said, *coḷiyadāmiḷe palāpetvāna yuddhamhi…*[75] "when in war he caused the Damiḷas from Coḷiyam to run away…". Here *damiḷa* is used to refer to the evil doers and coḷiyam is used as a toponym to distinguish the Damiḷas in Coḷiyam from the Damiḷas from elsewhere, from Lanka, for example, or from Paṇḍu. The Damiḷas from Lanka who followed the ruler are explicitly mentioned in connection with the paṇḍita-king.[76] I am aware of the possible translation "Damiḷas and Coḷiyas",[77] but it equates an ethnonym with a demonym. The *Damiḷa* fighters, who were both *paṇḍu* and *coḷiya*, are explicitly mentioned as separate groups.[78] A special case is *keraḷa*: it functions both as a demonym and an ethnonym.

Moreover, the use of *damiḷa* as an ethnonym and as a pejorative is also reflected in the use of *sīhaḷa*. The logical counterpart to *coḷiya* was for a long time *sīhaḷa,* that was used as both toponym for the whole island and as demonym for all islanders. When we come to the 8th century, we find alongside this use, the use of *sīhaḷa* as an ethnonym. Now it was possible to play out the *Damiḷa* against the *sīhaḷa*. The *paṇḍita*-king's useage exemplifies this. Just to give one example from a passage related to his armed forces:

> *gantvā gantvā mahāyodhā Sīhalā garuḷa viya*
> *sabbe pi Damiḷe yodhe bādhesuṃ pannage viya*[79]
> "Wherever the *sīhaḷa* great warriors went, they attacked all the *damiḷa* warriors like garuḷas the nāgas".

Here both *sīhaḷa* and *damiḷa* refer to ethnies. The logical counterpart to *coḷiya* is here not *sīhaḷa*, but *laṃkāvāsī*. An interesting point is that within the Tamiḻ-speaking area *ciṅkaḷam* and *ciṅkala(va)r* did not, in general, go through this semantic transformation from demonym to ethnonym, but these Tamiḻ terms

[75] *Cv 82: 25.*
[76] *Cv* 82: 24.
[77] CvT 82: 25.
[78] *Cv* 88: 62–63.
[79] Cv 83: 14.

remained demonyms. I refer to the *tivākaram*, a work from the 8th century: it mentions *ciṅkalam* as an alternative name for *īḻam*.[80]

The demonym *coḷa* was not always a neutral demonym used in the discourse of interstate relations. In the reign of Mahinda V (981–1929, 982–1929) the *Coḷā* were demonised as *ojohārino yakkhā*,[81] "bloodsucking devils". Here, the representatives of a demonym are demonised in a way which corresponds to the Pallava and Cōḻa use of *ciṅkala(va)r* of rough strength, where *ciṅkala(va)r* is also used as a demonym.

It should be noticed here that the most demonised *Damiḷa* in the modern ethnonationalist discourse, Māgha (1214–1235, 1215–1236), who symbolises anti-Buddhism in its most intensive form, is (wrongly) defined as *Damiḷa* by the *paṇḍita* king,[82]—and as *Damiḷa* he went down in history. He is a paradigmatic case. Māgha invaded the island with 24 000 warriors who ravaged the country and destroyed Buddhist sanctuaries. A detailed description enumerated his evil deeds.[83] He did something for which only he is known: *micchāditthiṃ sa bhopālo gaṇhāptevā mahājanaṃ…*,[84] "the ruler caused the people to adopt a false view", i.e. he forcibly converted them to another religion that is not mentioned by name. Māgha's ransacking was therefore not without religious motives, if forcible conversion indicates religious motives. It looks more like an annihilation of a previous identity: today we would call it cultural genocide. We do not even know to which religion he converted the Buddhists under his control. Vīra Śaivism has been suggested, because Vīra Śaivas were known to be radical and against the caste system. Māgha is also said to have brought *catubaṇṇam*, "the fourfold varṇa", in disorder.[85] Civacuppiramaṇiyam Patmanātaṉ has convincingly shown that a local Tamiḻ chronicle called *mattakalappu manmiyam* describes him as belonging to the Lingāyats, a Śaiva sect that was indeed against the traditional caste system.[86]

In the modern ethnonationalist discourse, it has been forgotten that he is the only example of a forceful converter in the whole vaṃsa-tradition. As he is the typical Damiḷa, his act of forcible conversion is also made typical for all Damiḷas. In the passage about Māgha, we also find the important statement that the *damiḷayodhā*, "Damiḷa warriors", are *durāsayā*,[87] "evil by inclination". Having said this, no hope is signalled for a future positive evaluation of a Damiḷa. The word was associated with destruction and death as part of the innate nature of a Damiḷa.

The remarkable thing about Māgha is that he was neither a *Damiḷa* nor a *Coḷiya*. The chronicle is explicit about this by saying that he belonged to the

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[80] *cēṉtaṉtivākaram* 1958, pa kkk.
[81] *Cv* 55: 20–21.
[82] *Cv* 82: 26–27, 83: 15.
[83] *Cv* 80: 58–80.
[84] *Cv* 80: 75.
[85] Loc. cit.
[86] Pathmanathan, *The Kingdom…*, pp. 110–111.
[87] *Cv* 80: 70.

*kāliṅgakula* and that he came from Kalinga with his warriors.[88] Kalinga, Orissa today, was never part of Tamiḻakam.

The chronicle mentions, however, that among his warriors were *keraḷayodhā*,[89] "warriors from Kēraḷam", and of course *damiḷayodhā*, "*Damiḷa* warriors". They were probably mercenaries. So by mentioning this and by other allusions, the origin of Māgha was forgotten and the impression was created in the chronicle itself that Māgha was a Damiḷa. What is important for us is that the concept of a Damiḷa forged by the image of Māgha implies a strong anti-Buddhist attitude. Māgha's warriors were compared to Māra's warriors in the chronicle.[90] The Tamiḻ warriors today who fight for Tamiḻīḻam are also compared to Māgha's warriors in this discourse. The memory of Māgha is used to enforce and exemplify in a modern ethnonationalist discourse the pejorative use of damiḷa. The *talaivar*, "head", of the Liberation Tigers of Tamile Ealam, Vēluppiḷḷai Pirapākaran, is sometimes classified as a successor of Māgha. The repeated recounting in modern times of Māgha's evil actions could contribute to causing anti-Tamiḻ pogroms.

To sum up, a *damiḷa bhikkhu* is inconceivable within a vaṃsa-tradition. Representatives of this vaṃsa-tradition, who were proud of the Coḷiya monks, abstracted the *damiḷa bhikkhu* from his frightening, Damiḷa, cultural background and turned him into a *coḷiya bhikkhu* who seemingly does not represent the interests of the Damiḷa ethnie. He represents the demos of Coḷiyam or Coḷiyadesa and represents Buddhism in the tradition of the Mahāvihāra in Anurādhapura, though in a self-consciously Coḷiya interpretation of that tradition.

It has never been regarded as objectional that some of the insular nobility could trace their origins to foreign dynasties. The most spectacular case is Vijaya's marriage with a Pāṇḍu lady. The same can be said about some leading caste-conscious Buddhist monks who wished to indicate and signal a noble origin. It was possible even for a monk to make public in writing in a colophon that he belonged to a [Tamiḻ] *pāṇḍivaṃsa*, like Buddhaputra, the author of the Sinhala historical work *Pūjāvalī* from the 13th century. In his and his readers' world, *pāṇḍivaṃsa* and *demaḷa/damiḷa* did not overlap. Part of the modern ethnonationalists' inventing of history is that not only the dynastic name, but also the dynasty of the Pāṇṭiyar were derived from the Aryan Pāṇḍavas. If Buddhaputra had said what he de facto was, namely of Damiḷa origin, his career might have suffered and his work would have been classified as false. The ethnonationlists' history is extremely anti-Damiḷa.

We have seen in the introduction in section 1.1.3. that a modern monk, the Ven. Vimalasāra, has started a rehabilitation of the word *damiḷa*. He deviates from this traditional negative use of *damiḷa* and consciously loads it with positive connotations. For him *damiḷa* is beautiful. His solitary and emotional reaction confirms that *damiḷa* in general is still seen as ugly, even today.

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[88] *Cv* 80: 58–59.
[89] *Cv* 80: 61.
[90] *Cv* 80: 70.

## 5.1.8. The Decline of Buddhism in Tamiḻakam

The decline of Buddhism can be studied in a Buddhist inscription of the 13th century from Tiruccōpuram, analysed by Āḷvāppiḷḷai Vēluppiḷḷai in section 5.7. This inscription was discovered on stray stones on the roof of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine in the Maṅkalapuracuvarar kōvil. The inscription must have been originally made in a Buddhist temple that has disappeared without trace. The stones from this temple were later used to build the Civaṉ temple and the inscribed portions were there to tell a story about a Tamiḻ Pautta past.

The decline can also be studied in an epigraphic reference to a puttar kōvil in the 16th century. It is analysed by Āḷvāppiḷḷai Vēluppiḷḷai in section 5.8. It is engraved on the door jamb of the entrance to the inner prakāra of the Kumbeśvara temple at Kumpakōṇam, in the heartland of the Cōḻa country. This inscription mentions a Buddhist temple at Tiruvilanturai but it is not clear whether any benefit was intended for the Buddhist community. It should be noted that the Buddhist institution is referred to as a kōyil, the general Tamiḻ designation for Caiva and Vaiṇava temples, and not as paḷḷi as is usually the case in Tamiḻ usage for non-Caiva and non-Vaiṇava establishments in the mediaeval period. It may be an indication that Buddhism was not vibrant in that period and the Buddhists were being assimilated into the Tamiḻ Caiva and Vaiṇava population.

Āḷvāppiḷḷai Vēluppiḷḷai concludes in section 5.8. that the Tamiḻ inscriptions of the Cōḻa period in Tamiḻakam and the Tamiḻ inscriptions in Īḻam use words like paḷḷi, vikāram and kōyil (kōvil) when referring to Pautta places of worship, in that order, but with a decreasing rate of frequency. The usage of terms like paḷḷi and vikāram indicate the situation when Pauttam was considered a distinct religion. The context of the use of the word kōyil in these inscriptions suggests that the dominant Caivam tried to incorporate Pauttam into Caivam by classifying Pautta places of worship along with Caiva places of worship. The context in which kōyil is used in one of these inscriptions seems to indicate that Pauttam was no longer practised in the region. Nobody from the kōyil is apparently involved in the transaction mentioned in this inscription. The puttar kōyil was probably just a landmark, although local people remembered its land endowment, which had not yet been appropriated by others.

## 5.1.9. Nākapaṭṭiṉam

### 5.1.9.1. References to Nākapaṭṭiṉam and Buddhism

Nākappattinam was a centre for Buddhism during the Cōḻar.[91] This city, having succeeded Kāvirippūmpaṭṭiṉam as a Buddhist centre, is and has been connected with Buddhism in several ways.

[91] Jayakumar, "Nagapattinam…, pp. 427–433.

1. There is the story about the Pallava King Narasiṃhavarman II who in 720 had a temple, allegedly a Buddhist vihāra in Nākapaṭṭiṉam, built on behalf of the Chinese emperor. I have already related this story in section 4.1.2.6. I have come to the conclusion that the Chinese source neither speaks for Buddhism nor for Nākapaṭṭiṉam.
2. There are the Leyden Plates that document the patronage by the Cōḻas of a complex of vihāras in Nākapaṭṭiṉam in the 11th century (see section 5.3.1.).
3. There are the buddha Bronzes from Nākapaṭṭiṉam with their inscriptions (see sections 2.2.2.1., 5.3.4.2.–5.3.4.3.).
4. There is the story about Tirumaṅkai āḻvār (ca 800–870) who stole a golden buddha image from a sanctuary in Nākapaṭṭiṉam (5.1.9.3.).
5. There were the Pāli monks in Nākapaṭṭiṉam mentioned in the section above (see section 5.1.7).
6. There is the Kalyāṇi inscription recounting the incident about the visit of the two monks to Nākapaṭṭiṉam in the 15th century where they venerated a *buddha* in a cave constructed on behalf an alleged Chinese mahārāja (see section 5.1.9.11.).
7. There were the remains of the so-called China pagoda which could be seen in Nākapaṭṭiṉam up to the 1860s (see also section 5.1.9.5. and 5.3.1.3.).

I shall take up these poinst one by one below.

It looks as if there was a continuous institutionalisation of Buddhism from the 8th century to the 15th century, which remained in place until the 19th century. Let us be careful and take one piece of evidence at a time: we need to avoid "interesting" results by *carefully* separating the sources from each other.

I have nothing more to say about the Pallava King Narasiṃhavarman's II building of a temple. There is no evidence of his having constructed a Buddhist vihāra at Nākapaṭṭiṉam. The absence of evidence should not be exploited to formulate speculations based on stories about a China pagoda in Nākapaṭṭiṉam, which scholars then connect to each other.

It goes without saying that the word *pagod(a)* is used here in the 19th century sense of covering all kinds of sanctuaries.[92]

Let us look at the Leyden Plates first.

### 5.1.9.2. The Leyden Plates and the Buddha Bronzes from Nākapaṭṭiṉam

According to Civacuppiramaṇiyam Patmanātaṉ, who describes this complex in section 5.3.1, the construction and maintenance of the Cūḷāmaṇivarmavihāram at Nākapaṭṭiṉam in the 11th and 12th centuries was an enterprise depending on the co-operation and close understanding between the Cōḻas and the kings of Kaṭāram. [93] The kings of Sri Vijaya who were of the Śailendra dynasty had shown an abiding interest in the cause of promoting Buddhism by

[92] http://dsal.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/HOB.sh?WORD=pagod&FLOAT=ON[=Hobson-Jobson Dictionary]

[93] For a discussion of this toponym see Thani Nayagam, "The Identification of Kaṭaaram", pp. 67-71.

constructing impressive monuments and taking several other actions in their dominions.[94] It is not unlikely that there were in Nākapaṭṭiṉam settlements of Buddhists with mercantile associations and South-East Asian connections. Such an assumption seems to be supported by the evidence from the inscription on the pedestal of a bronze image from Nākapaṭṭiṉam, which is presently in the John D Rockefeller Collection of Asian Art.[95] Civacuppiramaṇiyam Patmanātaṉ emphasises that Nākapaṭṭiṉam was undoubtedly a vital point of intersection on the routes of international commerce linking the commercial entrepôts of South and South-East Asia. That there could have been close connections between the monastic orders of Nākapaṭṭiṉam and those of Sri Vijaya is another strong possibility.

I wish to add here that the relation between the two states was that of tension and potential war for dominance in trade and territorial control. For the time being it was in the interest of the Cōḻa rulers to endure the foreign traders in the port of Nākapaṭṭiṉam and provide them with material support to build a vihāra. The Cōḻar were clever and calculated losses against gains. In 1025, Irācēntiraṉ plundered Palembang, the capital of Śrī Vijaya, and conquered neigbouring states that Śri Vijaya had conquered earlier. The relation between the two states was that of permanent potential conflict and they competed at the imperial Court of China for the highest status. The vihāra at Nākapaṭṭiṉam was built during a period of uneasy truce. The role of China should be observed.

During the 11th century Nākapaṭṭiṉam was the focal point of Buddhist missionary and artistic activity in the Tamiḻ country. Civacuppiramaṇiyam Patmanātaṉ shows that the Buddhist tradition as found at Nākapaṭṭiṉam represents a phase of development characterised by strong Mahāyāna and Caiva and Vaiṇava influences. An interpretation of the inscriptions on the pedestals of buddha images and votive stūpas and the fragments of literary texts suggests that a puttar was invested with the attributes of divinity.

The concept of a puttar as a saviour and a redeemer is articulated in some of the inscriptions, as suggested by the expression *uy(y)akkoṇṭa nāyakar*. The epithet *uy(y)akkoṇṭa nāyakar* was not confined exclusively to epigraphic usage. The concept associated with this epithet seems to have been articulated in some Tamiḻ Pautta texts of this period. For instance, the expressions: *pōtiyān em iṟaivan poruntināṟ uyakkoḷvān*, "Our Lord, the one who attained enlightenment, who redeems those who seek refuge (under him)", are found in the *kuṇṭalakēci*. It is also significant that the concept of a saviour God was found in a developed form in contemporary Vaiṇavam.

Civacuppiramaṇiyam Patmanātaṉ concludes that the epithets of Civaṉ and Perumāḷ as found in contemporary local Caiva and Vaiṇava tradition were freely adopted and applied to a puttar by the Buddhists of Nākapaṭṭiṉam and other localities in South India. Such a practice presupposes that the Buddhist

[94] See Wolters, "Srivijayan Expansion in the Seventh Century", pp. 417–424.
[95] See also Noburu, Subbarayalu, "An Inscription …", pp. 13–18.

community did not exist in isolation from the rest of society. It would seem that there was inter-religious and inter-cultural communication to a considerable extent. The adoption of epithets associated with notions of divinity could have had far-reaching effects on buddhology. It probably led to the superimposition of values and notions associated with the conceptions of God in theistic traditions of buddhology.

### 5.1.9.3. Tirumaṅkai āḻvār

#### *5.1.9.3.1. Tirumaṅkai āḻvār's Stealing of a Buddha Statue*

*Āḷvāppiḷḷai Vēluppiḷḷai*

While the Caiva hagiography concentrates on Caiva conflicts with the Caiṉar in the Pallava and the Pāṇṭiya countries,[96] both the Caiva and the Vaiṇava hagiographies refer to their conflicts with the Pauttar in the Cōḻa country. After Campantar's triumphant return from Maturai in the Pāṇṭiya country, Cēkkiḻār narrates the story of his confrontation with the Pauttar at Pōtimaṅkai in the Cōḻa country. While Toṇṭaraṭippoṭi āḻvār, attached to Tiruvaraṅkam Temple—the "Temple" par excellence of the Tamil Vaiṇavar—and dated to the 8th century AD, uses strong language against the Pauttar in his *tirumālai*, "sacred garland hymn",[97] the Vaiṇava hagiography refers to conflicts between the Pauttar and the Vaiṇavar under Tirumaṅkai āḻvār in the same century. Toṇṭaraṭippoṭi, who was a *pirāmaṇaṉ*, seems to have hated both the Pauttar and the Caiṉar. In stanza seven, he can not believe that well-educated people either care for or listen to Pauttar and Caiṉar. In the next stanza, he says that if the Caiṉar and the Pauttar, out of hatred, speak irresponsibly of Perumāḷ, and if he gets a signal, he will behead them.

Tirumaṅkai āḻvār is the most prolific of the Tamiḻ āḻvārs. He is the author of almost one third of the early Tamil Vaiṣṇava poetry of the "Four Thousand".[98] These are all available and there is no marked animosity towards the Pauttar and no hint about the action of stealing from them in this vast literature as internal evidence for the story. Tirumaṅkaiyāḻvār has five hymns on Tiruvaraṅkam and he never mentions either the stealing of a puttar statue or his building activities there.

In Vaiṇava hagiology there is a conscious attempt to relate Tirumaṅkai to Campantar. Even though one century seems to separate them, they are made contemporaries, a contest is visualised between the two and the āḻvar is said to have been victorious even though the two parted company in a friendly way. As Campantar is alleged to have done much harm to the Caiṉar in Maturai, later tradition might have invented āḻvārs as paralleling him by doing much

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[96] See section 4.3., Campantar's polemics against the Jains and the Buddhists.
[97] *nālāyira tivyap pirapantam nayavurai* 1993, pa 354–367.
[98] Chari, Philosophy…, p. 32.

harm to the Pauttar in Nākapaṭṭiṉam. Most probably Nākapaṭṭiṉam only obtained a golden image after the eleventh century vihāra, which is so eloquently described in the Larger Leyden Plates. So it might be an anachronism to claim that Tirumaṅkai stole the statue.

Hagiographical works in *maṇippiravāḷa* [Sanskrit and Tamil mixed like gems and corals] are called *kuruparamparai* "geneologies of spiritual preceptors". There are *mūvāyirappaṭi* (3000 syllables) and *paṉṉīrāyirappaṭi* (12000 syllables) which belong to the Northern School and *āṟāyirappaṭi* (6000 syllables) which belong to the Southern School.[99] The last mentioned work written by Piṉpaḻakiyaperumāḷ Cīyar detailing the lives of the āḻvārs, "poets of the drowning" and ācāryas, "preceptors", right up to Maṇavāḷamāṉikaḷ is a narrative in a graceful style. There are also larger volumes of *kuruparamparaipppirapāvam*, resembling somewhat the *periyapurāṇam* of the Caivar.[100]

Vaiṇavam of South India enumerates 108 shrines located throughout India as the most important Vaiṇava shrines; āḻvār, other than Tirumaṅkai, concentrated on a few shrines in the far south of India. Tirumaṅkai is the only one among them who has hymns on 86 of those shrines, extending to all the four directions in India. It is difficult to assign definite dates to these āḻvār; the Vaiṇava tradition assigns dates of great antiquity to each of them. The traditional Vaiṇava scholars also consider Tirumaṅkai as the latest of the āḻvārs.[101] Tirumaṅkai celebrates *paramēṣvara viṇṇakaram*, a Vaiṇava shrine in Kāñci, built by Paramēṣvaravarman I (770–780 AD). Tirumaṅkai has been dated by modern scholarship to the late 8th or early 9th century.

Biographical accounts of the āḻvār are given in works such as *Divyasūricaritam* and *Guruparamparās*, which were mostly written several centuries after the lifetime of their subjects.[102] The *Divyasūricaritam* is generally considered the earliest poetical work composed in Sanskrit by Garudavāhana Paṇḍita, who is assigned to the 11th century. Two other hagiographical works based on it appeared at a later period. The first one was written in *maṇipravāḷa* style (half Tamil-half Sanskrit) by a Piṉpaḻakiya Perumāḷ Cīyar and has the title of *kuruparamparāprapāvam -āṟāyirappaṭi*. The second book was contributed to by Trtīya Brahmatantra Parakālasvāmi and has the title *kuruparamparāprapāvam- mūvāyirappaṭi*. The latter was a shorter version of the former. Even though other Vaiṣṇava scholars continued to write slightly different versions, two works of *kuruparamparāprapāvam* are generally accepted.

The earlier *kuruparamparāprapāvam* of the Vaiṇavar in a way resembles the *periyapurāṇam* of the Caivar in giving the most detailed sketches of the lives of the poet-saints, as well as in commanding authority among their respective followers. Tirumaṅkai refers to himself as *maṉṉaṉ*, "king/chieftain", and *parakālaṉ*, "killer of enemies".

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[99] *Encyclopaedia of Tamil Literature* 1, p. 267
[100] Loc.cit.
[101] Chari, Philosophy…, p. 9.
[102] Ibid., p. 10.

As he was the only one among the āḻvārs/nāyaṉmārs who seems to have travelled extensivly throughout India on a pilgrimage, a heroic tale could be constructed around him. He was said to have been an avatāra of Viṣṇu's bow. He was also said to have been born among *mḷeccar;*[103]some modern scholars, like S M S Chari, use the English word "tribal brigand" to refer to his origin.[104]

Tirumaṅkai āḻvār is a multifaceted personality. He was born in the fourth *varṇa,* and identified in some sources as belonging to a *kaḷḷar* caste. He had to become a Vaiṇava to marry Kumutavaḷḷi, a Vaiṇava *vaiśya* girl. He patronised Vaiṇava devotees in a big way and he ended up a pauper. He started stealing to continue his patronage. When Perumāḷ and his consort appeared to him in disguise, he threatened to rob them. Perumāḷ made him his devotee. He started on a pilgrimage throughout India and he composed hymns on 87 of the 108 prominent Vaiṇava shrines—a recordamong the āḻvār. Almost a third of the four thousand stanzas of the Tamil Vaiṇava hymns were his compositions. He has six *prabandhas* to his credit. He experimented with many metrical forms.

The Tamil āḻvār came from different regions of Tamiḻnāṭu; Tirumaṅkai; Tiruppāṇ and Toṇṭaraṭippoṭi came from the Cōḻa country. Tiruvaraṅkam/ Śrī Raṅgam in the Cōḻa country emerges as the temple par excellence of Tamiḻ Vaiṇavam, similar to Citamparam in the Coḻa country for the Caivar. The Cōḻa kings were ardent Caivar and their patronage of Vaiṇavam was never lavish. The Vijayanagar emperors and the later Nāyaka kings continued to put up buildings to make it the biggest temple complex in Tamiḻnāṭu. The beginnings of the temple complex had to be projected to a past, possibly to challenge Caiva claims to a glorious past. Tirumaṅkai āḻvār has to be given the credit as the other two āḻvārs from the region were described as a poor untouchable and a poor pirāmaṇar. Even though Tirumaṅkai makes extravagant claims about himself, he was described as a vassal of the Cōḻa king. The Pallavas and the Pāṇṭiyar were the dominant powers in the Tamiḻnāṭu at that time and the Cōḻa king did not count for much. Tirumaṅkai has many hymns on Tiruvaraṅkam. He was said to have decided to build extensive structures, like the outer wall, the *gōpura*, and the *vimāṉa* of the temple for Lord Raṅgarāja as well as for Periyaperumāḷ (Rāma), brought by Vibhīṣaṇa from Ayodhya to Lanka.[105] Here also there is a historical anomaly in that temples built in Tamḻnāṭu during the Pallava and early Cōḻa period have no gōpuras at all. The gōpuras became an important feature of South Indian temples only during the Vijayanagar-Nāyaka periods. The task of building a huge edifice was too much for a petty chieftain. The story about stealing a golden puttar statue from Nākapaṭṭiṉam vikāram to finance the operation must have been invented at that time.

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[103] piṉpaḻakiya perumāḷ cīyar, *āṟāyirappaṭi kuruparamparāprapāvam*, p. 61. [=*kuruparamparāprapāvam*]
[104] Chari, *Philosophy...*, p. 9.
[105] piṉpaḻakiya perumāl cīyar, *āṟāyirappaṭi kuruparamparāprapāvam*, p. 70

It was during his stay in Tiruvaraṅkam that Tirumaṅkai was said to have taken up stealing. He was a *kaḷḷar* from Nākapaṭṭiṉam. The exact words are as follows:

> *tiruvaraṅkat tiruppatiyil aḻakiya maṇavāḷaṉai ttiruvaṭi toḻutu, maṇṭapa kōpurāti kaiṅkaryaṅkaḷukkāka mantrikaḷōṭē kūṭa tirunākaippaṭṭiṉattil śvarṇamayamāṉa pautta vikrahattai eṭuttuk koṇṭu vantu, attaiyurukkit taṅkamākkit tirumatiḷ mutalāṉa kaiṅkaryaṅkaḷaic ceytu koṇṭirukka*[106]
>
> "While he was worshipping at the sacred feet of Handsome Husband at the sacred shrine of sacred Araṅkam, having taken along with his ministers the Pautta icon from Tiru Nākaippaṭṭiṉam made entirely of gold for the sake of building works beginning with halls and gopurams, while continuing to do building works beginning with outer wall from melting it into gold…"

It is clear from the story that there was no confrontation with the Pauttar in Nākapaṭṭiṉam (Nākai). The āḻvār was advised by his retinue about the existence of the golden Pautta image in the Nākai. This probably indicates that the fabulous riches of this kōyil were well known. Tirumaṅkai goes to the town, but he is not sure where to look for the golden statue. He visits a female Vaiṇava devotee there to inquire about the secret. According to her, the secret is known only to an artisan/architect who lives in *tvīpāntara* [Dvīpāntara]. This word occurs in two places on the same page of the text;[107] there is no reason to take it as a proper name. It seems to denote a remote or far away island. The Cōḻa inscriptions testify to the fact that the kōyil was built as a big complex at the request of the Srī Viyaya king and endowed lavishly. Śrī Vijaya is located around Java, Sumatra, etc. The Dvīpāntara, referring to a remote island, seems to preserve a historical memory.

The āḻvār and his retinue go to that remote island to obtain the secret. The āḻvār uses a trick. He laments that the *turuṣkar*, "Turks", had plundered and destroyed the kōyil and then looted the golden statue.[108]

An artisan begins to cry aloud that he took particular care to hide the statue, comes out unwittingly with the particulars, and blames his associate artisan in Tamiḻnāṭu for having betrayed the secrets to the Turks. The āḻvār is jubilant that he has found out the secret.

By the time this story was written, the terms paḷḷi and vikāram associated with Bauddha worshisp, probably have disappeared from the memory of the Tamils. The Hindu word kōyil has been used to denote the paḷḷi/vikāram in all three places in the story, pp. 71, 72,73.

The reference to the Turks is a clear indication that the *kuruparamparāprapāvam* can not be dated earlier than the 14th century. There were no Muslim invasions of South India until this century, when invaders led by

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[106] *kuruparamparā prapāvam*, p. 42.
[107] piṉpaḷakiya perumāḷ cīyar, *āṟāyirappaṭi kuruparamparāprapāvam*, p. 71
[108] Loc.cit.

Turks from Delhi plundered and destroyed South Indian temples. I cannot understand how Irāmaccantiraṉ could date the *kuruparamparāprapāvamārāyirapaṭi* to the 12th century and how Chari could date it to the 13th century. An analysis of the tirumaṅkai āḻvār story alone is sufficient to take the date to around the 16th century.

The āḻvār and his retinue return to Nākai from the island having used another "trick" to obtain free transport. The group appeals successfully as pilgrims for a free ride on a boat trading in areca nuts. Then there follows another trick. The āḻvār claims to love areca nuts and he wants to leave half of an areca nut in the safe custody of the trader. To insure its safety, the āḻvār obtains from the unsuspecting trader a chit that he has left this areca nut in the trader's hands. When the āḻvār lands in Nākai, he insists that the trader should part with half of the areca nuts on the boat. He produces his chit and clinches his argument because the chit is ambiguous. The trader has to pay the āḻvār the value of half of areca nuts in his ship.

According to the story, the āḻvār stole the golden statue of the puttar from the kōyil, but not from the Pauttar. There is no mention of the Pauttar anywhere in the story. The kōyil had already been abandoned and the Pauttar had disappeared from the locality. The artisan/architect betrayed the formula of the crown of the *vimāna*. The āḻvār secretly left the key-chain tied to iron spike below the stone over which water flowed from *kōmukai*. He and his retinue hid in a corner. At midnight they pulled up the iron spike chain from below the kōmukai, climbed up onto the crown of the vimāna, turned it from left to right, opened the crown and saw the golden statue which shone like many suns rising. Tirumaṅkai's brother-in-law went down through the opening and removed the statue forcefully. The statue cried out woefully that why was it made of precious gold, when it could be made of lead, iron, bronze, copper, etc?[109]

The people who noted the damage to the building and the loss of the golden statue were said to have been officials like the *talaiyārikaḷ* and *maṇiyakārar*.[110] The term *talaiyāri* and its variants are found in the Tamiḻ, Kaṉṉaṭam and Malaiyāḷam languages. It is glossed as a village watchman; one of the menial servants of a village, whose duty included giving information about offences, guiding travellers, etc.[111] The term *maṇiyakāraṉ* and its variants are found in Tamiḻ, Teluṅkam, Kaṉṉaṭam and Malayāḷam. It is glossed as a headman of a village, superintendent of a temple, etc.[112] It is not known when these terms came into usage in Tamiḻ. They are not available in Tamiḻ records up to the 14th century.

When the officials identify the āḻvār as the suspect, the āḻvār plays a trick again. He promises to return the statue to not less than the size of his little

[109] Ibid., p. 72.
[110] Loc.cit.
[111] *TL* 4, p. 1786.
[112] *TL* 5, p. 3044.

finger on a particular day. When they came back to claim the statue on that particular day, the āḻvār is willing to part with a statue of the size of his little finger. They realise that they have been duped and they return, having refused to accept the offer.

The value of the golden statue was even then not sufficient to cover the expenses, and the artisans were demanding payment. The āḻvār devises another trick. He takes them in a boat out to sea, promising wealth from an island. He arranges with the boatman to drown the architects in the sea and then returns to Tiruvaraṅkam. The relations of the architects are told that the architects will return later with lot of wealth. They suspect foul play and harass the āḻvār. At this point, the god of the shrine performs a miracle to save the āḻvār. In a vision, the artisans appear with the god and tell their relations that they have reached the god through the āḻvār's action; they also appeal to their relations to honour the āḻvār and attain salvation.

This story can not be earlier than the 14th century. The Pauttar seem to have abandoned the kōyil before the āḻvār stole the statue.

Tirumaṅkai has a very good command of the Tamiḻ language and Tamiḻ prosody. The *kuruparamparāpprapāvam* also has a story that this āḻvār held a successful disputation with Campantar, the well-known Caiva saint, who was made to acknowledge the greatness of the āḻvār in Tamil prosody. As Campantar can be dated definitely to the 7th century, this story also must have been a later invention.

### *5.1.9.3.2. Evaluation of the Tradition about Tirumaṅkai's Theft*

*Peter Schalk*

The story about Tirumaṅkai āḻvār is part of the Vaiṇava canon called *nālāyirtivyaprapantam* and was compiled in the 10th century by Nātamuṉi, who was a temple priest at Raṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam. Details about this robbery are recorded in the *kuruparamparāprapāvam*, a later work from the 13th–15th centuries that records biographies of the āḻvār. The actual story is given above by Ālvāpiḷḷai Vēluppiḷḷai. There are about 400 years between Tirumaṅkai's lifetime and the conception of the tradition about him being a thief. According to this late tradition, in order to obtain funds for the building of the Raṅganātha kōvil at Śrīraṅgam, Tirumaṅkai stole a solid gold image of a puttar. It was evidently not a spontaneous act on his part; it was what we could call organised crime. He went there with his *mantrikaḷ*, "ministers" [in full daylight].

I shall come back to this work below. I just want to indicate that there is a historical problem about the beginning of this tradition. Scholars who do not separate sources do not, of course, have this problem. They just pretend that a 13th century source is identical with a 9th century source. They synchronise sources distant from each other in time and space.

The dating of Tirumaṅkai āḻvār to the 9th century and of this canon to the 10th century is of importance because the incident related occurred before the

perumpaḷḷi in Nākapaṭṭiṉam had been established by Irācarācan and Irāccentiraṉ. Therefore, it seems that Tirumaṅkai āḻvār cannot be connected with this royal Buddhist establishment. Neither can he be connected with the China pagoda if it is something other than the paḷḷi, for the same reason. There may of course have been another, to us unknown, Buddhist establishment before the one existing in the 9th century when Tirumaṅkai āḻvār (800–880) lived. There is a continuous Buddhist tradition in the Kāviri area from the 4th century onwards, but in his literary creations Tirumaṅkai makes no connections between himself and such a building or such a theft. I think we should respect this and draw the relevant conclusion: he is not the originator of a tradition that depicts him as a thief of a Buddhist image in Nākapaṭṭiṉam. Another interpretation could be that he consciously avoided being classified as thief because it was detrimental to his reputation. I do not think this was so and such a silence does not concern the paḷḷi and the China pagoda anyway, because they did not exist yet. In his circles it was an accepted norm that the ultimate, holy end justified the means, and further, that it was highly meritorious to perform immoral and criminal acts for the ultimate holy cause. Had he actually committed such an act for the ultimate cause, he would certainly have told us. He was not exactly reticent in these matters.

So let us forget about Tirumaṅkai, but not about the tradition about him as codified in the late work *kuruparamparāprapāvam*. This was a work that was compiled when the perumpaḷḷi and the China pagoda had been built, and therefore it would not surprise me to find an allusion to them. I will look closer at this source in section 5.1.9.5. Although we will not find out who the thief really was in the 14th century, I shall try to show that the golden statue was stolen not from the *paḷḷi*, but from the China pagoda in Nākapaṭṭiṉam.[113]

### 5.1.9.4. The Kalyāṇi Inscription

The Kalyāṇi inscription derives its name from the fact that it was consecrated by the Talaing monks who had received afresh their *upasampadā* ordination at the hands of the Mahāvihāra from Anurādhapura on the Kalyāṇi River near Colombo. In the 15th and 16th centuries Buddhist monks from all parts of Rāmaññadesa and Siam came to get their *upasampadā* there. To commemorate this and to establish a Kalyāṇi *-sīmā* after four centuries of war and upheaval, Dhammaceti, or Rāmādhipati, King of Pegu, erected an inscription on stones in Pāli in 1476 AD recounting the history of the purification of the *dhamma* in Rāmaññadesa.

One of the incidents related is the visit of eleven monks under the leadership of Citradūta, an emissary of Dhammaceti, to Nāgapaṭṭana during the lifetime of King Dhammaceti in the 15th century. The story is that these monks had been shipwrecked off the coast of Jambudīpa, but with the help of a raft they

[113] Ramachandran arrives at the same conclusion, but he is still convinced about the synchronisation of Tirumaṅkai and the Puduveli gopuram [=China pagoda]. See Ramachandran, *The Nagapattinam...*, p. 15.

succeeded in landing on the coast. They travelled on foot to Nāgapaṭṭana. There they visited *padarikārāmavihāravatthum*, "the site of the Padarikārama vihāra", and *buddhapaṭimaṃ vanditvā*, "having venerated the image of a buddha", in a *mahāguhāya*, "big cave", *karāpitāya*, "having caused to be constructed", by *cinadesissarena mahārājena*, "on the order of the great king of Chinaland", *samuddatīrē*, "on the seashore", where the *siridāṭhādhātu*, "holy Tooth Relic", was deposited in the course of its transit to *laṃkādīpa* in the charge of Hemamālā—Daṇḍakumāra who were husband and wife. Then the monks went to Nāvaṭapaṭṭana. They finally embarked from there and from Kōmālapaṭṭana for Rāmaññadesa. [114]

The story about Hemamālā—Daṇḍakumāra, I will leave aside here. It refers to the alleged bringing of the tooth relic from Kalinga to the island in the 4th century, according to the *Dāṭhāvaṃsa* written in the 13th century. This reference was taken up by the Kalyāṇi inscription, a stopover for the couple was invented in Nākapaṭṭiṉam and the time sequence was blurred. In the text the word *pure*, "in the past" is missing. At least we can see that the Burmese also knew about the *Dāṭhāvaṃsa*.

I will focus here on the mentioning of the veneration of a *buddhapaṭima* in a *mahāguhā* on the *samuddatīra,* which was ordered by a Chinese mahārāja. This story raises questions: which Chinese maharāja and cave on the shore are envisaged? I must confess that I have a problem with the *mahāguhā*, which is an anomaly in the known context. It does not seem rational to construct a great cave on a beach. Caves are usually either natural or carved out of rocks and prepared for different functions, but are not constructed in areas where there is a sandy terrain. We have to imagine a cavern, a brick construction. in which the buddha image was placed. This does not violate the use of *guhā*. If it was a brick construction, the building may have been the so-called China Pagoda in Nākapaṭṭiṉam.

### 5.1.9.5. The China Pagoda in Nākapaṭṭiṉam

Xenophobia is not uncommon in old travel reports by Westerners about Asian localities. When the Dutch travellor Wouter Schouten [–Walter Schulze] visited Negapatram [Nākapaṭṭiṉam] in the 1660s, he strolled through the city and found many odd things, among them "heathen" pagodas that induced fear in his mind. One especially caught his attention. He saw a tower or pagoda that allegedly was built by the devil himself during one night, he tells his readers, but adds that he had difficulty in believing this.[115] What he saw may refer to a famous tower-like construction that was in fact a pagoda and looked odd to visitors from Europe on account of its architecture, even if they had seen many other pagodas. It was a very special pagoda. Wouter Schouten was not a

[114] Taw Sein Ko, "A Preliminary Study…", p. 211.

[115] Schulze, *Ost-Indische Reise…*, p. 108–109: "Ferner hin/ sahe ich einen steinernen Turn/ oder Pagode/ welche (wie etliche berichten) von dem Teufel solle erbauet seyn/ und zwar in einer Nacht; doch kann ich dieses schwerlich glauben."

Fig 23. The "China Pagoda" as seen in 1846 by Sir Walter Elliot.

scholar who went beyond impressions. Unfortunately, he did not try to find out more about this pagoda, for example its name.

François Valentyn, a Dutch priest, who published a monumental work on South Asia and South-East Asia in 1724, reported that in Nagapatam, close to the village Wellipaliam, there stood a high tower called *Pagode China*, which had been built by Chinese.[116]

In the 1860s, a tower still stood in Nākapaṭṭiṉam that was known popularly as the China pagoda. Scholars today also use this term, which was popularised by Sir Walter Elliot in his early publications in the *Indian Antiquary* from 1878, but he called it both the China and Jaina Pagoda.[117] In a second publication he called it an "Ancient Buddhist Structure".[118] His full text is given in section 5.3.1.3. by Civacuppiramaṇiyam Patmanātan. In section 2.1.9. an introduction is given by Irāmaccantiraṉ Nākacāmi.

There is an earlier, contemporary report than Elliot's about the condition of the tower in 1865, just before it was dismantled in 1867. It mentions that the Portuguese called it a "ruined tower" and that the Dutch had used it as light-

[116] Valentyn, *Beschryving...*, p. 6: "By 't Dorp Wellipaliam staat de Pagode China, en hooge Toren, wel eer door de Chineesen by zekeren inval van hen gebouwd."
[117] Elliot, "The Edifice…", pp. 224–227.
[118] Elliot, "A Further Notice…", pp. 234–236.

house. In 1782 the tower was shot at in a battle between the French and English. The bullet holes were still visible. There were traces of damage inflicted at different times. The text also gives the exact measurements of the "tower". At the ground if formed an irregular square 11.33 m by 10.66 m, with a height of about 30 m. The walls were 4.5 m thick. Each storey or floor overhung the interior by 0.33 m so as to form a summit. The materials were enormous, perfectly made bricks.[119]

Henry Yule observed in his book on Marco Polo that this tower erected in Nākapaṭṭiṉam was called "Tower of Malla", which may imply a connection to the Pallavas.[120] He also mentions a report by Robert Caldwell, who had been astonished to hear that there was a "Chinese Tower" in Nākapaṭṭiṉam and who had written to the *munsif* of the city. He received confirmation from the munsif of what he had heard, namely that the tower was called "Jaina Tower", but that it had been rendered into China Tower by the English.[121] This is, however, not the solution of the problem. It is not as simple as Jaina being taken for China and that the Chinese connection never existed. Let us proceed.

Henry Yule checked for himself in *The Atlas of India* available to him at the beginning of the 20th century and found not "China pagoda", but "Jayne Pagoda".[122] He also found that that the "China amendment" had been made before the arrival of the British by other foreigners. It was already in Philip Baldaeus' travel account from 1672. I checked and found that Philip Baldaeus writes that without the gates on the north side of the city stands a lofty *Pagode*, called *China*, near which is a summer-seat.[123] I have only one comment to add to this information. Baldaeus and the other foreigners did not make an "amendment". It is "Jaina pagoda" that is an amendment of the correct China pagoda. This amendment was made to rationalise something that seemed completely irrational. The reference to China was, however, not irrational as we shall see below.

So we have local names, Jaina Pagoda and China Pagoda, and we have the tower of Malla. Walter Elliot found more names in use like *buduveligopuram* [=*putuvelikōpuram*]. He observed also the use of Old Pagoda, and Black Pagoda.[124] It was a complex situation. The question naturally comes up of whether this China pagoda was the same as the one established by Narasiṃhavarman II in about 720 and the one that the monks from Rāmaññadesa saw in the 15th century in Nākapaṭṭiṉam. There are about 700 years between Narasiṃhavarman II and the Kalyāṇi inscription. Did this building survive for 700 years on the beach of Nākapaṭṭiṉam and could it still be seen in the 1860s before it was pulled down by the Jesuits?

We have detailed drawings of the tower at Nākapaṭṭiṉam before it was

[119] Ravisi, "Extract…", pp. 135–136[=Appendix II].
[120] Ibid., p. 69.
[121] *The Book of Marco Polo*, p. 336, note.
[122] *Loc. cit.*
[123] Baldaeus, *A True and Exact …*", p. 651.
[124] Elliot, "The Edifice…", p. 224.

pulled down. It had very little resemblance to any Chinese pagoda from the 8th century. The fundamental basic structure of the earliest Chinese pagodas from 5th–6th centuries AD was polygonal and looked like a watchtower in accordance with typical Chinese prefigurations.[125] The Nākapaṭṭiṉam structure was rectangular and did not really look like a watchtower. I can imagine that when the lable "China pagoda" was introduced, the concept of a "tower" was applied also, and when the theory appeared that Narasiṃhavarman was the builder, the "tower" was made into a "tower of Malla". The tower was not strictly speaking a (watch) tower having unmediated Chinese prefigurations. It was a very special type of pagoda, which, however, included Chinese among its builders.

It was a brick construction that had an evident resemblance to Indo-Javanese constructions from the 8th–10th centuries AD. I refer especially to the Caṇdi Punta dewa from central Java in the 8th century [126] and to Buddhist stūpas in Sumatra.[127] Such constructions could not have been known to Chinese architects in the year 720, but they could of course have been known when in the 11th century a Buddhist paḷḷi was built on initiative of the Sri Vijaya rulers in Nākapaṭṭiṉam. These rulers may have sent their skilled workers to plan and build the pagoda.

I now come back to the *kuruparamparāprapāvam*, which has been already been introduced in sections 5.1.9.3.–5.1.9.4. It relates the story about Tirumaṅkai āḻvār, the alleged robber of the golden image of a buddha. This late text contains certain details about the building, which its author observed. There exists one version of this text according to which Tirumaṅkai āḻvār learns from an old Vaiṇava lady living in Nākapaṭṭiṉam that the *artisan* of the sanctuary was living in *tvīpāntara*. Tirumaṅkai āḻvār went there, met the artisan and obtained from him the secret of how to enter the sanctuary.[128]

Tvīpāntara refers to Malaya including Śrī Vijaya. So we have an explicit reference to South-East Asia for the type of construction of the sanctuary. The author of *kuruparamparāprapāvam* in the 14th century evidently observed the odd structure of this sanctuary and found out that it was build by an architect from Dvīpāntara. Then he connected this knowledge, which is naturally missing in the first related version in the *nālāyirtivyaprapantam*, with a story of a robbery by Tirumaṅkai āḻvār, which is also missing in the *nālāyirtivyaprapantam*. The synchronisation of this sanctuary with Tirumaṅkai āḻvār is historically wrong, but the description of the sanctuary seems to be right because it is contemporary with the author. What he saw was "the China pagoda" that was built according to prefigurations from Sri Vijaya. It was not Chinese in origin, but it was nevertheles for the Chinese, as we shall see below. It was techni-

[125] For the development of the Chinese pagoda see Seckel, *Buddhistsiche Kunst Ostasiens…*, pp. 71–75. Ledderrose, "Chinese Prototypes of the Pagoda", pp. 238–248.
[126] Le Bonheur, "Die Kunst Indonesiens", Bild 322a.
[127] Lohuizen-de Leeuw van, "The *stūpa* in Indonesia", pp. 283–284[=Sumatra].
[128] The text is retold in Ramachandran, *The Nāgapaṭṭiṉam…*", p. 15. I have not been able to get hold of this version of the text.

cally a *pauttappaḷḷi* or *vikāram*, but the compiler of the *kuruparamparāprapāvam* was not aware of this classification, although he refers to the stolen object by the name *puttapratimai* [Sanskrit *buddhapratimā*] and *puttavikraham.*[129] This word should be written as *puttavikkirakam* [Sanskrit *vigraha*], "buddha image". The sanctuary is classified as a *kōyil*,[130] which is a designation for a Caiva or Vaiṇava sanctuary. Evidently, the distinction between paḷḷi or vikāram for Pauttam on the one hand, and kōyil for Caivam and Vaiṇavam on the other had already disappeared as part of the process of assimilation of Pauttam, as pointed out by Āḷvāpiḷḷai Vēluppiḷḷai.

The remains of this paḷḷi/kōyil were seen by the monks mentioned in the Kalyāṇi inscription and by Western travelers like Gasparo Balbi—see below, Walter Schouten, Philip Baldaeus, François Valentyn, Walter Elliot and Henry Yule, and finally the Jesuits in the 19th century before it was pulled down by the latter in 1867. This brings me back to the name China or Jaiṇa pagoda. Evidently the pagoda was not of Chinese or Jain origin, but this does not exclude the possibility that it was a pagoda built by and for Chinese people. Let us pursue this matter.

The pagoda was built as a pauttappaḷḷi and many Buddhist finds close to it confirm this. The Jesuits found five bronze statues of a buddha hidden under the roots of a banyan tree that they had uprooted. So how could this paḷḷi have been connected with Chinese people?

We have to look at the known facts about known relations between the Cōḻas and the Chinese empire in the 9th–13th century AD, and we should not confuse these relations with earlier relations that Narasiṃhavarman II had in the early 8th century with China.

I have already mentioned that the Cōḻas were known at the Chinese Court, which imitated Arab names. Their country was known as *chola chu nien* and the people as *coli*. I have also mentioned that the Cōḻas competed with Sri Vijaya, the other expanding military and commercial state, for dominance and status at the Chinese court. One of the most sensitive encounters for political and commercial interests took place in 1014 when Irācarācaṉ Cōḻaṉ—known as Loch-Locha [Rājarāja] in Chinese—sent an envoy, known as Soli Samudra in Chinese sources, to the Chinese court in Pien during the Northern Sung Empire (960–1126) to meet the Chinese ruler Chen Chung in 1014. This was only one of several encounters.

In the 11th century, the Chinese adminstration took over the overseas trade from the Arabs that had given rise an Arab colony in Canton. By this time the Chinese knew how to use a compass and were able to load ships with 500–600 people. Their most important trade relations were with Japan, Campā (Annam), Sri Vijaya, the Coromandel coast and Bengal. They imported ivory, coral and pearls and exported porcelain and silk.

In *The History of the Sung Dynasty* there is a section on the Cōḻas. It men-

[129] piṉpaḷakiya perumāḷ cīyar, *āṟāyirappaṭi kuruparamparāprapāvam*, pa 71.
[130] Loc.cit.

tions that one of their cities had a Buddhist population with monasteries inhabited by monks of all sects. Unfortunately no name of the city is given, but it could refer to Nākapaṭṭiṉam. The same source mentions that when Soli Samudra was in China in 1014–1016, he sought the company of Chinese Buddhists in the Chi' Sheng Chan Monastery and celebrated together with them the emperor's birthday. [131] It seems odd that a Cōḻa diplomat, who probably was an ardent Śaiva, should have done so unless it was for pragmatic reasons.

On his way to China, Soli Samudra also visited Sri Vijaya reaching his destination in 1015. He received gifts from the emperor, and also an edict to Loch-Locha [Rājarāja]. What nobody knew was that Loch-Locha had died in 1014 and Soli Samudra also died while he was still in China.[132] So the edict never reached the Cōḻas.

There is another important Chinese document called *A Sketch of Foreign Islands and Savages* [*tao yi chih lueh*] by Wang Ta-yuan of the Yuan dynasty, but the incidents belong to the Southern Sung dynasty (1127–1279), the period of Kublai Khan (1260–1294) and the Yuan dynasty (1280–1367). Wang Ta-yuan wrote that during the period between the Sung and Yyan dynasties, Nākapaṭṭiṉam had close relations with China. He mentions that Chinese had settled there. So, when the Śrī Vijaya rulers requested that the Cōḻa rulers build a Buddhist sanctuary, it was intended as part of the intensification of trade between the two countries, and China used Chinese traders as go-betweens. It was a Chinese population overseas that partially organised this trade. The document is explicit about the settling of Chinese in Nākapaṭṭiṉam.

The same document also mentions that the Chinese lived on the plain, and their dwellings were encircled by defenses of wood and stone. Evidently, they lived in a ghetto-like surrounding. Furthermore, the document says that they built a pagoda of bricks, a few score feet high. On the pagoda there were painted in Chinese characters the words "The construction work completed in the 8th moon of the 3rd year of Han Ch'un' [=1267 AD.]".[133] The document mentions that it was Chinese traders who had had the words written on the pagoda which were still in existance.[134] The China pagoda of Nākapaṭṭiṉam was a brick construction and it was a "a few score feet high". It seems then that the Chinese source gives us the final confirmation that the "China pagoda" was built in 1267, which can be co-ordinated with the period for the writing of the *kuruparamparāprapāvam* in the 14th century.

There is at least one more piece of evidence for this suggested origin of the

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[131] The text passage of *The History of the Sung Dynasty* is given in Lo Hsiang-Lin, "On the Voyage of Soli Samudra Chola's Envoy to China in A. D. 1015", pp. 510–511.

[132] Lo Hsiang-Lin, "On the Voyage…", p. 519 [=*The History of the Sung Dynasty*].

[133] This passage has in Ramachandran, *The Nagapattinam* …, p. 14 been ascribed to Marco Polo, but without a reference to a page numer in Marco Polo's work. No wonder, the passage is not *there*.

[134] The text passage of *A Sketch of Foreign Islands and Savages* [*tao yi chih lueh*]is given in Lo Hsiang-Lin, "On the Voyage of Soli Samudra Chola's Envoy to China in A. D. 1015", pp. 513.

Chinese pagoda. I refer to the travel account of the Italian Gasparo Balbi, who travelled in 1582/83 to Goa, Cananor, Cocchi, Silon [=Qilon, ?] on the Malabar coast, and passed by Punta di Gallo [=Point of Galle], La Vacca [=Ilha das Vacas, Delft] in Seilan [Ceylon], towards Negapatan [Nākapaṭṭiṉam] and S. Thomè [Madras, Ceṉṉai] on the Coromandel coast. We are of course interested in what he saw in Negapatan.[135] His text is in part confused, which has in turn confused some readers.

Having passed La Vacca in Seilan, he saw a *pagodo* that was called *pagodo di Chini*.[136] At this stage we do not know yet exactly where this *pagodo* was situated, but we have the direction, northwards on the Coromandel coast before he arrived at S. Thomè. We also learn from Balbi that the mariners told him that this *pagodo* was built by some people from China. On the following pages he places it in Negapatam, but at the same time he starts to speak in the plural about *pagodi de' Chini* in Negapatam, although there was only one.[137] Probably he was influenced by the *Sette Pagodi*, "seven Pagodas", that he also saw just before he arrived at S. Thomè[138] and which we can identify as Māmallapuram; it was traditionally called by this name.[139] The editor of his text, Olga Pinto, thought that she had to amend it and put _*sette*_ in front of his use of *pagodi* in the context of Negapatam,[140] although it is quite clear that Balbi mentions only one, the *pagodo de Chini*. Henry Yule in 1866, also thought that Balbi confused the *Sette Pagodi* with the *pagodo de Chini*. Maybe Olga Pinto was influenced by Henry Yule. He went, however, a step further and thought that Balbi ascribed the alleged self-made compound **Sette Pagodi de' Chini* to Māmallapuram, which suddenly, on the basis of this namegiving only, could be connected with China. I have referred to this already in section 4.1.2.6. The whole problem can be solved if we just accept that the plural *pagodi* in the context of Negapatam is an error, it should be a singular *pagodo*. Balbi saw in 1582 the Chinese pagoda in Nākapaṭṭiṉam and also knew correctly why it was called so, not because it looked like a Chinese pagoda, but because it was built by Chinese people, who we know, from Chinese sources, had settled in Nākapaṭṭiṉam. Valentyn repeats the same information. The time distance between the building of the Chinese pagoda and Balbi is only about

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[135] Balbi was dedicated to plagiarism, but this is of no concern for the passage in question. See Charpentier, "Cesare di Federici and Gasparo Balbi", pp. 49–61.

[136] *Viaggi…*, pp. 154–155: "A dì 8 del detto mese di Maggio, dopo haver navigato tutti quei giorni con diversi venti e pericoli per quella costa del Seilan, giungemmo ad un"isola, che si chiama la Vacca e la sera medesima nel tramontar del sole, cominciammo a veder un… pagodo, il quale si chiama pagodo de Chini, che dicevano i nostri marinari, che venivano eretti da alcune genti dette Chine, la prima volta che navigavano per quell paese, ove non fossero più volte stati; e ciò facevano per lor particular divitione e per utilità de naviganti, acciò potessero veder terra."

[137] Ibid., pp., 155, 156.

[138] Ibid., p. 161: "La mattina seguente a tre hore di giorno fummo all"incontro d"un luogo che si chiama Sette Pagodi, sopra i quali sono otto collinette amene non molto alte, le quali sono lontane sette leghe da S. Thomè, dirimpetto al quale arrivammo a mezzo giorno a" 30 di Maggio con salutarlo di tre tiri d"artiglieri."

[139] See *The Seven Pagodas* [=*Pagodas*].

[140] *Viaggi…*, pp. 154–156.

300 years. There may still have been memories transmitted in Negapatam in 1582. Let us make things clear: Balbi never stated that the *pagodo* in Negapatam was SEVEN *pagodi* and he never stated that the Seven *Pagodi* [in Māmallapuram] were CHINESE. He never wrote **Sette Pagodi de'Chini.* These are all projections by his readers that have generated much unnecessary discussion and confusion.

### 5.1.9.6. Conclusion

The Cōḻa project in Nākapaṭṭiṉam was accomplished with the support of the contemporary Cōḻa Kings: Irācarācaṉ (985—1016) and his son Irācēntiraṉ [Rājendra] I (1012—1044). True, they did not begin it. It was started on the initiative of the Śailendra kings: Cuḍāmaṇivarman, who was a contemporary of Irācarācaṉ, and his son and successor, Śri Māra Vijayottuṅgavarman from Śrī Vijaya (Sumatra), who was a contemporary of Irāccentiraṉ. It is logical to regard Nākapaṭṭiṉam as a trading centre in the 9th century that took over the trade from Kāvirippūmpaṭṭiṉam. Nākapaṭṭiṉam was a *nakaram*, a city under the control of royal officers and agents, who brought this city port into a wider network of international trade.[141] Already in the 9th century there may have been Buddhists in this city port who had been living in the Kāviri area from the 5th and 6th centuries, as I have documented above in section 4.1.2.3.

The Chinese population overseas encouraged by both the Śrī Vijaya and Cōḻa rulers built a "Chinese" pagoda in Nākapaṭṭiṉam that was constructed according to prefigurations of sacred architecture in Java-Sumatra. It was standing there and observed by the Burmese emissary Citradūta and his Burmese monks in the 15th century. As they mention China explicitly, they may still have seen the Chinese inscription. The interesting point in the Kalyāni inscription is its reference to the Chinese king as taking the initiative. This may be so: he may have made the rulers from Śrī Vijaya and the Cōḻa country understand that they should care for the Chinese traders in this triangle of common economic interests. Unfortunately, we do not have the edict that he had sent to Loch-Locha. In 1582, Balbi was still able to learn from an oral tradition that the pagoda was build by Chinese people.

The next witness is Philip Baldaeus who correctly reported the name Chinese pagoda in the 17th century. As he gives no explanation it seems that no more other explanation was available. The Chinese inscription may have disappeared by then. When the Jesuits dismantled the building in 1867, they did not mention any Chinese inscription.

The next witness is Valentyn who in 1724 reported about a China pagoda from Nākappattinam. He still encountered the tradition that the tower was built by Chinese. The next witness is Textor de Ravisi, and the final witnesses are Henry Yule and Elliott whose reports are given in section 5.3.1.3. All but Textor de Ravisi connected the pagoda with China. Caldwell thought that for-

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[141] Champakalakshmi, *Trade...*, p. 214.

eigners had taken Jaina wrongly for China. These foreigners were quite correct; it was Caldwell who was wrong.

We should not connect Tirumaṅkai āḻvār and Narasiṃhavarman II with this building. It is impossible that they had anything to do with it if we look at the time of its construction in 1267. It should also be noticed that neither the Chinese emperor in 720 nor Narasiṃhavarman II indicated where Narasiṃhavarman should construct the temple. It is only modern scholars that by association connect his construction with the China Pagoda.

As the China pagoda was built in 1276, we can also be sure that it was not identical with the construction called *śrī śailendra chūḍāmanivarmavihāramāna rājarājap-perum paḷḷi*, built in the 11th and 12th centuries. But we can say that it was part of this project, which was evidently still continuing towards the end of the 14th century. There was the Cōḻa-Chinese-South-East Asian connection that constituted the continuity of this project. About 270 years separate the beginning of the project with the construction of the original paḷḷi and the building of the China pagoda. Much can happen within 270 years. The originally paḷḷi may have disappeared and been replaced by other buildings like the China pagoda. What we have left today are not architectural remains, but above all bronzes that were collected as stray finds from various places in the city of Nākapaṭṭiṉam. None of these bronzes is more recent than the 13th century, which was when established Buddhism disappeared in Nākapaṭṭiṉam. It was also the end of Cōḻa rule. The bronzes are described in sections 2.2.11–2.2.13 by Irāmaccantiraṉ Nākacāmi and in sections 5.3.2–5.3.4.7. by Civacuppiramaṇiyam Patmanātaṉ.

Tirumaṅkaiyāḻvār could not have been the thief who stole the golden statue. Nevertheless, a thief could have stolen the statue from the China pagoda and invested the profit in Tiruvaraṅkam, at least in the ornamentations mentioned that belong to the Vijayanagar period.[142]

Tirumankaiyāḻvār had to give his name to make the building old and to make the story plausible. After all, he was a *kaḷḷar*, whose use of means justified holy ends. I suggest that the statue was stolen from the China pagoda and not from the famous Cōḻa *paḷḷi* for the following reasons. The theft is related to the completion of the building of the Tiruvaraṅkam in the 13th/14th centuries. If it happened at this time, the Vaiṇava lady from Nākapaṭṭiṉam and the architect in Dvīpāntara were still alive with their memories of the construction of the building where the golden statue was kept. This brings us back to the date of the construction of the China pagoda in 1276. This date is also close to the date of the compilation of the *kuruparamparāprapāvam* in the 14th century. The compiler did not refer to a *paḷḷi*, which was the name used in the Leyden Plates: *śrī śailendra chūḍāmanivarmavihāramāna rājarājap-perum paḷḷi*, or at least the word *paḷḷi*. This *paḷḷi* may not even have existed any more. The compiler referred to a *kōyil* indicating that a name for a specific Pautta building was no longer in use.

[142] Saletore, *Vijayanagara Art*, pp. 33, 55, 64, 68.

Finally, an observation concerning Nākapaṭṭiṉam only during the reign of the Cōḻas. We have seen that Pāli Theravāda Buddhism flourished with connections to Īḻam and Rāmaññadesa, but we have also seen that it had no connection to the Buddhist establishment, to the perumpaḷḷi, patronised by the Cōḻar. I cannot see that the Cōḻar took any positive interest in promoting this Pāli *dhamma*, but there is no doubt that it was endured.

We have seen that Mahāyāna flourished inspired by Chinese-Javanese-Malaysian emigrations.

Not far away, looking westward, we come to Poṉpētti in the Tañcāvūr district. It was the hometown of Puttamittiran, the author of the *vīracōḻiyam*, which promoted an emotional Mahāyāna buddhology with an Śaiva background. Puttamittiran lived during the reign of Vīrarājendra Cōḷa (ca 1063–1070). His promotion of Mahāyāna was not counteracted by the Court. He was not only endured, but also patronised. I have looked in vain for a similar action of patronising a Bauddha ācārya by the Pallavas in Kāñci. It seems that the Cōḻas were not less pious than the Pallavas, but they were more pragmatic.

## 5.1.10. Mulavāsam and Mākkōtai

In section 3.2.12., I have already indicated that there is a paucity of material pertaining to Buddhism in the western part of Tamiḻakam, in the area that we know as Kēraḷam. There are, however, two places that could be called Buddhist centres during the Cōḻa period. They are Mūlavāsam and Mākkōtai. The first name is Sanskrit because the main source for it is in Sanskrit. It is the *Mūsikavaṃśamahākāvyam*. The second name is Tamiḻ. We shall see that Buddhists from this area migrated to Anurādhapura and settled as a special group within a limited area.

### 5.1.10.1. Mūlavāsam

Mūlavāsam is the Sanskrit name for a Buddhist monastery on the Malabar coast. It does not exist any more and the exact localisation is still surrounded in controversy.

The existance of this monastery was made known by Kōpināta Rāv [T A Gopinath Rao] who had firm ideas about it, which he communicated to the scholarly world in 1908. His has been the normative presentation up to the present day. He wrote that the Buddhist faith was firmly established in Śrī Mūlavāsam in the very centre of Malabar, which is now under the sea. It must have died out in about the first quarter of the 11th century, just about the time when the Cuḍāmaṇivihāra was established on the opposite coast at Nākapaṭṭiṉam. This phrase, "on the opposite coast", was quoted by scholars again and again. In the end, it was accepted as so evident that it has not been considered necessary to check the statement.

Rāv was certain that this monastery was surrounded by at least four other

Buddhist monasteries because he had found stray images from these places.[143] Rāv gave the impression that Mūlavāsam was a Buddhist centre that had ceased to function in the 12th century due to a natural catastrophe, its submergence under the sea. Let us now go step by step and source by source.

The oldest reference to a Mūlavāsam is not from the Malabar coast, but allegedly from Gandhāra, according to Rāv. Alfred Foucher published in 1900 an "inscription" on a image of Lokanātha/Lokeśvara.

*dakṣiṇāpathe mūlavāsalokanāthaḥ*[144]
"Lokanātha from Mūlavāsam in the South"

In this connection, I want to point out another "inscription" from the same source published by Alfred Foucher, a parallel "inscription" to the former. It was neglected by Rāv and by all those who copied Rāv instead of reading Foucher. It reads

(*Dakṣināpathe mūl…?*)*pavāsa-lokanāthaḥ*.[145]

The two "inscriptions" support each other. When Rāv saw the former "inscription", he concluded that the reference to *dakṣiṇāpatha* "removed all doubt" about the situation of this monastery. He added also that if a duplicate of the image of Lokeśvara was set up for worship even in such a distant country as Gandhāra, "there is not the least doubt" about the great sanctity with which the original was held by the Buddhists all over the world. The presence of such an all important temple of the buddha "must necessarily" have induced people to erect more temples to this deity in all the adjacent areas, and this might account for a number of images all of which are found in one place, that is near Mūlavāsam.[146] The mentioning of Foucher and Gandhāra conveys to the reader the impression that the "inscription" belonged to classical Gandhāra. When I read Rāv, I got the impression that the "inscription" had to date to the period 200 BC–400AD, and I suppose that all readers of Rāv get this impression.

Rāv was not encouraged by Alfred Foucher's text to come to all these conclusions; Foucher had no comments in that direction, and he could not have had in 1900, because he was not yet be aware of the main source for the Mūlavāsam, which is a chronicle known as the *Mūsikavaṃśamahākāvyam,* extracts of which Rāv published together with a summary in the same volume from 1908.[147] Foucher only concluded reasonably that Mūla or Mūlaka, the locality for the Mūla-vāsam, was a place in the South.[148] What is more important for us, however, is that the "inscription" is not an inscription, but a script in Nāgarī written in ink on paper. There is no stone. The manuscript is not

[143] Gopinatha Rao, "Buddhist…", p. 116–117.
[144] Foucher, *Etude sur l'iconographie bouddhique…*", p. 194 [= number 27].
[145] Ibid., p. 194 [=number 25]
[146] Gopinatha Rao, "Buddhist…", p. 117.
[147] Gopinatha Rao, "Extracts from the Mūshika-Vamsam", pp. 87–113
[148] Foucher, *Etude…*, p. 105.

from Gandhāra, but from Nepal and was produced in Nepal in 135 (Nepalese era) according to its colophon, in other words 1015 AD. The manuscript was found by Foucher not in Gandhāra/Nepal, but in Cambridge and it had the number Ms Add. 1683. The manuscript consists of a collection of miniature paintings of Buddhas and bodhisattvas. At the bottom of each painting is an "inscription" giving the identity of the image. Our "inscription" is numbered as 27 and was reproduced by Foucher in the appendix as MS Add. 1643 on Plate IV. All this is in Foucher's book, but was evidently not noticed by Rāv, nor by all those scholars who for decades did not take the trouble to read Foucher, but just quoted from Rāv. I have a strong impression that Rāv never read Foucher's book, which is in French, but had its contents sloppily related by somebody who knew some French.

Rāv had several ideas. 1. He had an idea where exactly the Mulavāsam was. 2. Mūlavāsam was a Buddhist centre. 3. Mūlavāsam contained a statue of Lokanātha which was copied in Gandhāra. We can replace Gandhāra with Nepal. So we get the impression that Mūlavāsam was a Mahāyāna monastery, which is not impossible, but the impression is based on an inference, namely that the Lokanātha statue in Gandhāra/Nepal is a copy of a Lokanātha statue in Mūlavāsam. This statue has not been found. What has been found and what Rāv refers to are buddha statues in stone, none of which depicts Lokanātha. These finds do not confirm his conclusion.

The next source about Mūlavāsam in chronological order is the inscription by the Tamiḻ chief Varaguṇa from the area of Āy in Tamiḻakam. According to Rāv, who edited the inscription, this chief did not belong to the great dynasties of Tamiḻakam, to the Cērar, Pāṇṭiyar or Cōḻas. Varaguṇa was his name and a certain *vṛṣṇi-kula* was his clan. He praised the great *yādava-vaṃśa*, but he himself has been identified as a descendent of the local Kēraḷam chiefs of Āy by Rāv.[149] I have my doubts about this. There was a Pāṇṭiya ruler known as Varaguṇa II. His reign, 862–885, falls within the period of Rāv's Varaguṇa. This Varaguṇa II had to defend conquered areas in Kēraḷam. These had been taken by his grandfather Varaguṇa I and his father Śrīmāṟa Śrīvallabha (815–862). So there was a martial connection between the Pāṇṭiya and Cēra areas during the time of Varaguṇa II.

In 868 AD, Varaguṇa [II] issued an inscription on copper plates in part in Tamiḻ, in part in Sanskrit. He made a grant of land somewhere in Kēraḷam, where exactly is unknown. In the Sanskrit part he invokes *śauddhodanī*, "the person who belongs to *śuddhodana*", which is his son, Śākyamuni, to support all three worlds like Meru. He invokes the *dharma* and the *saṃgha*. They must last for a long time. He wishes that the radiance of the buddha would grant prosperity to his worshippers.[150]

Varaguṇa did not have any predecessor or successor to make his personal faith a tradition. There is no Buddhist sacred architecture and artefacts left

[149] Rao, "A. Paliyam Plates of Varaguna of the Vrishni-kula", p. 277.
[150] Ibid., p. 278.

behind that could be connected with him, and besides, his faith is rather unorthodox. Orthodox buddhology would not allow a king to ask a buddha to grant prosperity to his worshippers. Such prayers have to be redirected to gods in the Buddhist pantheon. Varaguṇa regarded the buddha as Civaṉ or as a Vaiṇava god bestowing prosperity.

Rāv himself established and published in 1908 the inscription given above known as the Paliyam Plates in copper of Varaguṇa. In the Tamiḻ part, boundaries of the land that was granted are mentioned. In the Sanskrit part we find the reference to a buddha. Copper plates can be moved. We do not know where they were found originally.

Rāv knew the contents very well being the editor of the inscription. In spite of this he came to the conclusion that Varaguṇa had granted extensive landed property to the Mūlavāsam in 868 AD.[151] So this monastery lasted allegedly for about a minimum of 300 years. Let us be careful. The plates do not even allude to Mūlavāsam either in the Tamiḻ or Sanskrit parts. There is no indication that the land granted was for a monastery. The protection of the land was entrusted to a warrior called Vīra-Kota, which does not argue for a monastery, but for a secular use. The connection between Mūlavāsam and this land grant is based on Rāv's knowledge about Varaguṇa's Buddhist emotions and Rāv's knowledge about Mūlavāsam. As both are related to the Malabar coast he connected the two. So this connection is made by Rāv, not by Varaguṇa, who does not indicate that he had even the slightest awareness about Mūlavāsam.

I cannot accept Varaguṇa's inscription as a source for Mūlavāsam. It is a source for a Tamiḻ ruler's sympathy for a buddha in the middle of the 9th century somewhere on the Malabar coast. Rāv also makes him a donee of gifts to a Jain sanctuary, but the inscription only says that in the 28th year of his rule a named Jain leader donated gold, probably to a Jain temple.[152] The donor is not Varaguṇa. We do not know if Varaguṇa's sympathy for Buddhism ever led to anything other than pleasant feelings in his mind.

The third source is a passage in the chronicle called *Mūṣikavaṃśamahākāvyam* written in the 11th–12th century by Atula.[153] It has 15 sections and 1057 stanzas in 35 different metres.

*Mūṣika* means "mouse", but here the word does not refer to a mouse. It refers to a dynasty and to its territory. The dynasty has, however, a legend that connects its origin with a mouse. There was a *mūṣika* kingdom according to the *kāvyam*. It was not Cēra, Pāṇṭiya or Cōḷa, but independent going back, as we can expect, to Paraśurāma's massacre. One *kṣatriya* called Rāmaghaṭamūṣika survived and founded the dynasty in this name. After him there followed a number of kings; the dynasty ends in the 11th century. Two of these kings are connected with the Mūlavāsam. I shall come to them below.

As we have seen above, Rāv placed the Mūlavāsam on the Malabar coast

[151] Rao, "Buddhist…", p. 116.
[152] Rao, "Two Inscriptions…", pp. 284–285.
[153] *Mūṣikavaṃśa of Poet Atula.*

just opposite Nākapaṭṭiṉam on the Coromandel coast. His reason for this is that the *Mūṣikavaṃśamahākāvyam* has two references to Mūlavāsam that seemed to him to fall within the Mūṣika kingdom. Rāv thought he could form a clear idea about where this kingdom was and therefore it was not difficult for him to localise the Mūlavāsam. Again, we see that his conclusions are based on a number of suggestions that have not been tested. Since then a number of other suggestions have been made.[154] But an archaeological examination that could perhaps confirm these suggestions has not been made.

The first reference to the Mūlavāsam is connected with King Vikramarāma in stanza 12.96–97 of the *kāvyam*. He is number 116 in the dynasty. We are told that the Mūlavāsam was about to be submerged by huge waves and the king rushed to the sea shore with drawn sword as if to cut them to pieces. By constructing a sea wall using big blocks of stones, he was successful in saving the monastery from erosion.

Vikramarāma lived in the 10th century as N P Unni has shown convincingly by finding his name in a Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscription.[155] I have therefore no difficulty in accepting this passage of the *kāvyam* as a historical source—minus the embellishments.

An interesting part of this passage 12.96–97 is the buddhology as exemplified by the only epithet of a puttar. It is *jina*. If we only had this passage, we would not be able to say whether we encounter a Buddhist or Jain monastery. There is no explicit and unambiguous reference to Buddhism.

The second reference to the Mūlavāsam is in the same *kāvyam*, stanzas 14.25–26. We encounter another king called Vaḷabha [II]. He is number 117 in the dynasty. He follows after Vikramarāma, who was an usurper and who was finally slain by Vaḷabha II. He is said to have entered Mūlavāsam and there met the *sugata* as the abundant store of *dharma*, which is a common epithet of a buddha. There is then no difficulty in accepting that the Mūlavāsam was Buddhist. It is also mentioned that *jaina* [*munis*] blessed him, but these can be taken as persons attached to the *jina*, who was a buddha.

In the tradition of Rāv, the two passages from the *kāvyam* are connected by scholars with the "inscription" from "Gandhāra". The conclusion is then that the *jina* and *sugata* is Lokanātha or Lokeśvara.[156] There is no confirmation of that in the stray finds of statues and in the written sources in Sanskrit that would have mentioned Lokanātha or Lokeśvara.

I have no difficulty in accepting from the sources that there was in the 11th and 12th century somewhere on the Malabar coast a Buddhist monastery that was apparently threatened by the sea and that we cannot classify with regard to the school. If the "inscription" from "Gandhāra" refers to the Mūlavāsam, then we also have a date: it still existed in the 10th–11th century. Nowhere, however, is it documented that it was swallowed by the sea. Erosion is a slow process.

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[154] A good survey of them is in Unni, *A History*..., pp. 163–166.
[155] Ibid., p. 111–112.
[156] Ibid., p. 191–192.

People just do not stand and watch and let valuable building material go to waste. They act. They dismantle the structure piece by piece and use the stones elsewhere. That is what is being planned for the famous seashore temple at Māmallapuram and the Danish Royal House in Tranquebar that are both threatened by sea erosion. Therefore, there is no hope of even marine archaeologists finding the Mūlavāsam in the future. It may have been dismantled gradually and completely.

The fact that the Mūlavāsam was not rebuilt elsewhere, as far as we know, does not support the view that Buddhism was strong on the Malabar coast in the period of the Cōḻas. I think we should say no more about the Mūlavāsam at the present stage of research, but look instead at Mākkōtai, which vanished not due to natural, but to manmade circumstances.

### 5.1.10.2. Mākkōtai: Vañci or Koṭuṉṉaṉūr?

There is indirect evidence that Mākkōtai was a Buddhist centre during the early parts of the Cōḻa period. Ālvāpiḷḷai Vēluppiḷḷai will show in section 5.11. that Mākkōṭṭaippaḷḷi was the name of the pauttappaḷḷi established in Anurādhapura, but that Mākkōtai was also the personal name of a Keraḷam ruler as well as a place name denoting a one-time capital city of Kēraḷam, which the author identifies with Vañci.

Anurādhapura had a Tamiḻ settlement in its northern division. The importance of Mākkōṭṭaippaḷḷi will become clear when viewed from the historical background of South India and Īḻam. It can be surmised that a section of Tamiḻ Pauttar migrated from Tamiḻakam to the Buddhist country of Ilaṅkai.

Mākkōtai was the capital of Kēraḷam in mediaeval times and a Mākkōṭṭaippaḷḷi was a leading institution there.[157] The Kēraḷam Buddhists who migrated to Anurādhapura probably preferred to retain their religious identity. The Buddhist temple of Mākkōṭṭaippaḷḷi that could not survive in Kēraḷam was apparently moved to Anurādhapura in Īḻam, according to Aḷvāppiḷḷai Vēluppiḷḷai.

Civacuppiramaṇiyam Patmanātaṉ will in section 5.12. give further indirect evidence for the existence of a Buddhist centre in Mākkōtai in Tamiḻakam, but he has another identification than Vañci. There are indications suggesting that the Tamils of the *nāṅkunāṭu* referred to in the inscription from Anurādhapura had connections with the Cēra country on the Malabar coast. A coastal town in Kēraḷam known variously as Makōta, Mākkōtai and Makōtaiyarpaṭṭiṇam is described in epigraphy and literature. It was situated on the coast and not far from Tiruvañcaikkaḷam near Koṭuṉṉaṉūr. Makōta was another name for Cranganore, which is a corruption of Koṭuṉṉaṉūr. Makōta was a famous centre like Kāntaḷūrcālai on the Malabar coast and considerable significance was attached to its conquest by the Cōḻa armies, as could be seen from the references in Cōḻa inscriptions. On the basis of a reference in the *periyapurāṇam,* Makōta is identified as Koṭuṉṉalūr by Civacuppiramaṇiyam Patmanātaṉ.

[157] turaiccāmi, *cēra maṉṉar varalāṟu*, pa 32–328.

The name Mākkōṭṭaippaḷḷi in Anurādhapura suggests that it was named after the coastal town of Mākkōtai in the Cēra country and such an impression presupposes that those who were responsible for its establishment and maintenance had close trading connections with Makōtai.

Now let us go back to the Coromandel coast to find places of Buddhist interest during the period of the Cōḻas.

## 5.2. Recent Finds of Buddhist Artefacts and Architecture in Tamiḻakam

*Turaicāmi Tayāḷaṉ*

### 5.2.1 Introduction

As far as the Buddhist artefacts and architecture are concerned, except for a few architectural vestiges, the majority of the remains is in the form of loose sculptures both in stone and bronze (see appendix). Leaving aside the natural caverns with carved stone beds for the monks, the associations of which are yet to be confirmed, the earliest date of the Buddhist vestiges available at present in Tamiḻakam is the 4th–5th century AD. The recent archaeological excavations at Kāvirippūmpaṭṭiṉam in Tañcāvūr district not only confirmed the literary evidence regarding the place but also brought to light the Buddhist architectural features of Tamiḻakam.

Except for the structures excavated at Kāvirippūmpaṭṭiṉam and the broken brick tower called the China pagoda which stood in Nākapaṭṭiṉam until the middle of the 19th century, most of the Buddhist vestiges in Tamiḻakam are in the form of loose sculptures both in stone and bronze. A few puttar images were noticed very recently at Maṇappaṭṭu, Māmallapuram and other places by the author and his associates.

### 5.2.2. Maṇappaṭṭu

Maṇappaṭṭu is a small village near to the coast situated 22 km south of Putuccēri (Pāṇṭiccēri, Pondicherry). To reach it one has to go 17 km from Putuccēri on the Putuccēri—Kaṭalūr road and take a diversion near Kaṉṉiyākkōyil and proceed a further 4 km eastward along the metalled road.

A torso portion of a puttar was discovered here recently in the sand dune on the north-eastern side of the village. It is a huge image made of granite stone, probably from the 10–11th century AD. It measures 137 cm at the base and about 102 cm high. The puttar is shown seated straight in the *va-*

*jrāparyaṅkāsana*[158] attitude on the pericarp of a *viśvāpadma*[159] with two rows of petals alternately broad and thin. He is in the *dhyānamudrā* with his right palm placed on the left palm in his lap. The puttar is draped in a long *antarvāsa*,[160] i.e. lower garment, and an *uttarāsaṅga*,[161] i.e. upper-garment, which leaves his right arm, chest and shoulder bare. The pleated end of the *uttarāsaṅga* is seen on the left shoulder of a puttar. A neatly frilled portion of the *antarvāsa* is spread on the seat in the form of a fan. Unfortunately the head of a puttar is broken or otherwise this sculpture would have been one of the most remarkable specimens from the 10th–11th century AD.

### 5.2.3. Putuccēri

It is interesting to note that many puttar images are found in and around Putuccēri in the villages very close to the coast. The beautiful puttar image in a seated posture, dated to the 10th–11th century AD and kept in a field very near to the famous Indo-Roman site at Arikamēṭu; a puttar head with a circular *ūrṇā*[162] between the eyebrows, a radiant face lit by a faint smile, elongated ear-lobes and an auspicious line around the neck found at Kirmāmpākkam and presently kept in the Putuccēri Museum, and a few other sculptures of puttar found in Putuccēri itself provide us with evidence that Putuccēri and its surrounding area flourished as an important centre of Buddhism at least in the period between the 10th to 13th centuries AD.[163]

Another noteworthy feature is that almost all the above places yielded Chinese pottery datable to 10th–14th centuries AD. Arikamēṭu, the famous trading station on the east coast of India, yielded much Chinese pottery in addition to the pottery and other materials brought from Italy and other western countries.[164] The Chinese celadon wares found at Arikamēṭu have all the characteristics of the Sung and Yüan Lung Chüan wares and may perhaps be ascribed to circa 10th–12th centuries AD.[165]

At Maṇappaṭṭu, three huge mounds, probably containing deposits 4 to 5 metres in depth are noticed towards east of the place where a buddha sculpture was discovered. While exploring these mounds a fine variety of Chinese celadon ware, stone ware, brown ware etc., was noticed in addition to the rouletted ware, Arretine Ware(?), black-and-red ware, Cōḻa period roofing tiles and other local pottery dated from 2nd–1st century BC to 12th–13th century AD. The Chinese pottery is all tentatively dated to 10th–13th centuries AD. Chi-

[158] Sitting posture in which both the legs are firmly crossed so that the feet (with soles visible) rest on the thighs.
[159] Fully blossomed lotus showing petals in both the upper and lower directions.
[160] It is a long cloth to be wrapped around the lower part of the body of the Buddha and Buddhist monks.
[161] Cloth which covers the upper part of the body of the buddha and Buddhist monks.
[162] An auspicious curl of hair between the eyebrows.
[163] The sculptures are presently exhibited in the Putuccēri Museum, Putuccēri.
[164] Wheeler. "Arikamedu…", pp. 17–124.
[165] Ibid., pp. 91–92.

nese pottery of the same period was also noticed at Kirmāmpākkam and Putucceṟi, where puttar images were found earlier.

The co-existence of the Chinese/South-East Asian materials and puttar images of the same period at Maṇappaṭṭu, Kirmāmpākkam, Arikamēṭu (Ariyāṉ Kuppam), Putucceṟi, etc. suggests a close relation between the items. It may not be wrong to presume that the Buddhist vestiges found in this locality were either made for or influenced by the merchants who came to these trading stations for reasons of trade from China/South-East Asian countries and settled there either permanently or for a while.

### 5.2.4. Māmallapuram

It seems Buddhism had a firm root in many places in the Pallava realm (see appendix) in spite of the formidable opposition of the votaries of Caiṉam and Brahmanism, the latter faith gaining an upper hand from the reign of the Pallavas.

The recent discovery of the torso portion of a figure in two pieces near the lion throne on the top of the hill at Māmallapuram, the famous seaport-cum-cultural centre of the Pallavas, provide us with a clue to the possibility of Buddhist activity at Māmallapuram during the Pallava period. The torso is made of granite and perhaps dates from the early Pallava period. The figure is shown seated straight in the *vajraparyaṅkāsana* attitude on a pedestal. He is in *dhyānamudra* with his right palm placed on the left palm in his lap. Though it is difficult to identify the figure, it is reasonable to presume that it is a puttar, on the basis of the features of the figure and other evidence.

### 5.2.5. Puṅkaṭitiṭal

Another torso of a puttar in stone was also noticed very recently at Puṅkaṭitiṭal in the village of Ariyāṅkuṇṭu, located 10 km north-west of Rāmēcuvaram. It measures 103 cm at the base and is about 62 cm high. The puttar is shown in *dhyānamudra*. He is draped in a long *antarvasa* and an *uttarāsaṅga*. Tentatively this image is dated to 12th century AD.[166]

Yet another place not far away from Rāmēcuvaram known as Taṅkaccimaṭam also yielded a bronze head of a puttar and a pedestal of a puttar image with an attendant deity on one side. The puttar head is shown with a circular *ūrṇā*, elongated ear lobes, curled hair etc.[167]

The rarity of Buddhist monuments in Tamiḻakam despite the long career of Buddhism is rather intriguing. Some scholars are of the opinion that the prevalence of the conservative Theravāda sect was responsible for the scarcity of

[166] *tiṉamaṇi* 1. 4. 1992, 18. 4. 1992.
[167] *tiṉamaṇi* 28. 4. 1992.

Buddhist monuments, as this sect did not encourage sumptuous edifices.[168] In addition to this, perhaps the anti-Buddhist activities of the other rival sects were also responsible for the disappearance of Buddhist monuments.

## 5.2.6. Appendix. List of Buddhist Sites and Loose Sculptures

| *Site number and location* | *Taluk/ District* | *Nature of find* |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Kaṇikkiluppai | North-Arcot | Dhyāni buddha image[169] |
| 2. Paḷḷūr | North-Arcot | Two images of dhyāni buddha and a mound known as *putta mētu*.[170] |
| 3. Mēlpāṭi | Vālāja taluk, district North-Arcot | Buddha sculpture[171] |
| 4. Tiruvatikai | South-Arcot | Image of a seated buddha in the Civaṉ temple[172] |
| 5. Tiruvaṭi | South-Arcot | Seated dhyāni buddha[173] |
| 6. Caḷukki (near Ceñji) | South-Arcot | Buddha statue[174] |
| 7. Erukkattampuli-yūr | Viruttācalam taluk, district (Irajēntirap-paṭṭiṇam) South-Arcot | Seated dhyāni buddha[175] |
| 8. Tiruccōpuram | Kaṭalūr taluk, district South Arcot | 13th century inscription[176] |
| 9. Kūvam | District Ceṅkalpaṭṭu | Buddha image[177] |
| 10. Arappākkam | District Ceṅkalpaṭṭu | Three buddha images[178] |
| 11. Māmallapuram | District Ceṅkalpaṭṭu | Torso of dhyāni buddha[179] |
| 12. Kāñcipuram | District Ceṅkalpaṭṭu | Several images of the buddha[180] |
| 13. Kōṉērikuppam | Near Kāñci puram | Head of buddha[181] |
| 14. Puttakaram | District Ceṅkalpaṭṭu | Seated dhyāni buddha[182] |
| 15. Paṭṭu (near Māṅkāṭu) | Caitāpēṭṭai taluk District Ceṅkalpaṭṭu | Dhyāni bBuddha (near the Viṉāyakar temple)[183] |

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[168] Mitra, *Buddhist Monuments*, p. 193.

[169] vēṅkatacāmi, *pauttamum…*, pa. 59. Minakshi, "Buddhism…", p. 113.

[170] Minakshi, "Buddhism... ", p. 113. *putta mēṭu* means "mound of the buddha". i. e. Buddhist remains.

[171] Information collected from French Institute of Indology, Putuccēri.

[172] Minakshi, "*Buddhism...* ", p. 112.

[173] Information collected from Archaelogical Survey of India (ASI), Madras Circle.

[174] Informed by Shri Sivaramalingam, Institute of Asian Studies, Madras, in 1991.

[175] French Institute of Indology, Putuccēri.

[176] It refers to perhaps a Buddhist temple, Buddhist *caṅkattār* of this place and *cari puttira paṇṭita*, a Buddhist monk. Vide *SII* 17, pp. VI–VII, and no. 131.

[177] Now in Madras Museum, Egmore.

[178] Headless Buddha in *bhūmiparśa mudrā*, *dhyāni* buddha and standing buddha inside the room of Ātikēcava Perumaḷ temple. Vide Minakshi, "*Buddhism...* ", pp. 111–112.

[179] Now in the ASI site Museum at Māmallapuram and a Buddha statue in the Museum in front of Arjuna's penance.

[180] Ranging in date from the 7th to 14th Century AD they were discovered in and around the Kāmākṣi Temple, Karukkilamarnda ammaṉ temple, Ekāmparēśvara temple and other places of Kāñcipuram. Standing Buddha (Buddhāvatara Viṣṇu) is depicted in one of the niches of the Vaikuṇṭa Perumāḷ temple. Buddha panels on the pillars inside the *maṇṭapam* of the Kacci-yappēsvara temple. Seated Dhyāni Buddha in front of the police station near Ekāmparēsvara temple, and other places. Kāñcipuram flourished as a centre of Buddhism right from earlier times. *Nagarakratrāgama* referred to *sadvihāra*, "six vihāras" at Kāñci. Excavations conducted near Kāmākṣi Ammaṉ temple revealed perhaps Buddhist brick vihāra datable to early Christian era (?).

[181] 9–10th century AD. Informed by Shri Sivaramalingam, Institute of Asian Studies, Madras, in 1989.

[182] Information collected from ASI, Madras Circle.

| *Site number and location* | *Taluk/ District* | *Nature of find* |
|---|---|---|
| 16. Iraṇṭāṅkāṭu | Kuṉrattūr taluk District Ceṅkalpaṭṭu | Seated dhyāni buddha[184] |
| 17. Mailāppūr | Madras | Two standing buddha figures [185] |
| 18. Rāyappēṭṭai | Madras | Buddha panel[186] |
| 19. Maṅkanallūr | District Tañcāvūr | Dhyāni buddha image[187] |
| 20. Elayaṉūr | Naṉṉilam taluk, district Tañcāvūr | Dhyāni buddha image[188] |
| 21. Maṉṉārkuṭi (Jain temple) | District Tañcāvūr | Buddha image[189] |
| 22. Peruñcēri | District Tañcāvūr | Buddha image[190] |
| 23. Puttamaṅkalam | Maṉṉārkuṭi taluk, district Tañcāvūr | Ancient Buddhist site[191] |
| 24. Tiruvalañcuḻi | District Tañcāvūr | Standing buddha[192] |
| 25. Paṭṭīcuvaram | Kumpakōṇam taluk, Tañcāvūr district. | Dhyani buddha image[193] |
| 26. Kōṭṭappāṭi | Naṉṉilam taluk Tañcāvūr district | Small buddha image[194] |
| 27. Nākapaṭṭiṉam | Tañcāvūr district | Many bronzes of a buddha[195] |
| 28. Veḷḷaṉūr | Tañcāvūr district | Dhyāni buddha image[196] |
| 29. Kāviripūmpaṭṭiṉam | Tañcāvūr district | Buddhist vihāra[197] |
| 30. Māṉampāṭi | Kumpakōṇam taluk, Tañcāvūr district | Seated dhyāni buddha image[198] |
| 31. Tirunākēcuvaram | Tañcāvūr district | Seated dhyāni buddha image[199] |
| 32. Puṣpavaṉam | Tirutturaippuṇṭi taluk, Tañcāvūr district | Seated buddha image[200] |
| 33. Iṭumpavaṉam | Tirutturaippūṇṭi taluk, Tañcāvūr district | Seated buddha image[201] |

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[183] vēṅkaṭacāmi, *pauttamum*..., pa 60. ARE, *1908, nos 358: Topographical List of Inscriptions in Madras Presidency* 1, p. 642.

[184] *v*ēṅkaṭacāmi, *pauttamum*..., pa 60.

[185] Made of granite, datable to 10th cent. AD. The Buddha figures were brought to light by the State Department of Archaeology, Tamiḻnāṭu. Vide *The Hindu*, December 7, 1976.

[186] Made of marble stone comparable to these finds in Andhra Buddhist Centres. The Buddha figures were brought to light by the State Department of Archaeology, Tamiḻnāṭu. Vide *The Hindu*, December 7, 1976).

[187] Minakshi, "Buddhism... ", p. 114.

[188] vēṅkatacāmi, *pauttamum*..., pa 45; Minakshi, "Buddhism... ", p. 114.

[189] It is kept in the Jain temple. Minakshi, "Buddhism... ", pp. 115–116.

[190] Inscribed 12th century AD. Vide vēṅkaṭacāmi, *pauttamum*..., pa 46; Minakshi, "Buddhism... ", p. 115.

[191] The mound here is supposed to have contained ruins of a Buddhist monastery. vēṅkatacāmi, *pauttamum*..., pa 43.

[192] Inside the compound of a Civaṉ shrine.

[193] In front of the Māriyammaṉ temple at Pattīcuvaram. Another seated Dhyāni Buddha of 14–15th Cent. is presently kept in the Tañcāvūr Art Gallery.

[194] *v*ēṅkaṭacāmi, *pauttamum*..., pa 46; Minakshi, "Buddhism... ", p. 114.

[195] A Buddhist temple called the China pagoda stood here until the middle of 19th Cent. A Buddhist vihāra supposed to have been built here during 8th Cent. It also remained as a prominent centre of Buddhism during the Cōḻa period.

[196] Information collected from ASI, Madras Circle.

[197] Excavated by ASI, Madras Circle. The Buddhist structures belonged to the 4–5th century AD with reconstructions made in a little later period. Vide Anon., "42. Excavation at Kaveripattinam, District Thanjavur", pp. 24–26.

[198] 10–11th cent. AD. Information collected from the State Archaeology Department, Government of Tamiḻnadu, Madras.

[199] It is presently kept inside the Civaṉ temple.

[200] From 10–11th century AD. Information collected from ASI, Madras Circle.

[201] From 10–11th century AD. Information collected from ASI, Madras Circle.

| *Site number and location* | *Taluk/ District* | *Nature of find* |
|---|---|---|
| 34. Māttūr | Taňcāvūr district | Seated buddha[202] |
| 35. Tiruviḷanturai | Kumpakōṇam taluk, Taňcāvūr district | Temple of buddha (Buddha Kōyil)[203] |
| 36. Kumpakōṇam | Taňcāvūr district | Seated buddha image (?)[204] |
| 37. Vikkiramam | Paṭṭukkōṭṭai taluk, Taňcāvūr district | Seated dhyāni buddha image[205] |
| 38.Akattiyaṉpaḷḷi | Vētāranyam taluk, Taňcāvūr district | Buddhist centre?[206] |
| 39. Tiruvaḷi | Taňcāvūr district | Bodhisattva[207] |
| 40. Valaṅkaimāṉ | Taňcāvūr district | Torso of a buddha[208] |
| 41. Māṭakaram (Taňcāvūr Art Gallery) | Taňcāvūr district | Dhyāni buddha[209] |
| 42. Paṇṇai Vayal | Cīrkāḷi taluk, Taňcāvūr Tiruccirāppaḷḷi district | Seated dhyāni buddha[210, 211] |
| 43. Pīratāparāmapuram (now in EgmoreMuseum) | Taňcāvūr district | Standing buddha[212] (bronze) |
| 44. Pukaḷūr | Karūr taluk Tiruccirāppaḷḷi district | Natural cavern with carved stone beds[213] |
| 45. Jayaṅkoṇṭa Cōḻapuram | Tiruccirāppaḷḷi district | Seated buddha[214] |
| 46. Karūr | Tiruccirāppaḷḷi district | Seated buddha (?)[215] |
| 47. Cuttamalli | Tiruccirāppaḷḷi district | Buddha image[216] |
| 48. Āṉalai | Tiruccirāppaḷḷi district | Buddha image[217] |
| 49. Paravai | Perampalūr taluk, Tiruccirāppaḷḷi district | Buddha statue[218] |
| 50. Rāyampuram | Ariyalūr taluk, Tiruccirāppaḷḷi district | Headless dhyāni buddha[219] |
| 51. Oḷukūr | Perampalūr taluk, Tiruccirāppaḷḷi district | Dhyāni buddha[220] |
| 52. Kuḷumūr | Ariyalūr taluk, Tiruccirāppaḷḷi district | Dhyāni buddha[221] |
| 53. Vikkiramaṅkalam | Tiruccirāppaḷḷi district | Buddha image[222] |
| 54. Ayiravēli Ayilūr | Tiruccirāppaḷḷi district | seated dhyāni buddha[223] |
| 55. Kuḷumaṇi | Tiruccirāppaḷḷi district | Seated buddha[224] |

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[202] Now at Tamiḻ University Campus, Taňcāvūr.

[203] Referred to in the inscription engraved on the door jamb of Kumpēśvara temple at Kumpakōṇam dated to the 16th century AD. Vide Rao, "No. 36…", pp. 215, 217.

[204] Outside the Pakavat Ganesa shrine in the Āṉaiyaṭi Street. vēṅkatacāmi, *pauttamum*. .. pa 44–45.

[205] 10th–11th century AD. Information collected from ASI, Madras Circle.

[206] Department of Epigraphy, Tamiḻ University, Taňcāvūr noticed some Buddhist remains in this place during exploration.

[207] 9th cent. AD Information collected from ASI, Madras Circle.

[208] 11–12th cent. AD. Information collected from ASI, Madras Circle.

[209] 10–11th cent. AD. Now in the Taňcāvūr Art Gallery.

[210] Now in the Tamiḻ University Museum, Taňcāvūr.

[211] Now in the Tamiḻ University Museum, Taňcāvūr.

[212] 12th cent. AD. Now in the Madras Museum, Egmore.

[213] For Buddhist or Jain monks.

[214] 10–11th cent. AD

[215] Information collected from ASI, Madras Circle.

[216] Presently kept in the Madras Museum, Egmore.

[217] Information collected from ASI, Madras Circle.

[218] Information collected from ASI, Madras Circle.

[219] Information collected from ASI, Madras Circle.

[220] Information collected from ASI, Madras Circle.

[221] Informed by Shri Sivaramalingam, Institute of Asian Studies, Madras, in 1992.

[222] Information collected from ASI, Madras Circle.

[223] Information collected from State Archaeology Department, Government of Tamiḻnāṭu, Madras.

| *Site number and location* | *Taluk/ District* | *Nature of find* |
|---|---|---|
| 56. Ariyalūr | Tiruccirāppaḷḷi district | Buddha statue in the field[225] |
| 57. Pēṭṭavāyttalai | Tiruccirāppaḷḷi district | Seated buddha image[226] |
| 58.Veḷḷaṉūr | Tiruccirāppaḷḷi district | Buddha statue[227] |
| 59. Periya Tirukkōṇam | Uṭaiyārpāḷayam taluk, Tiruccirāppaḷḷi district | Seated buddha image[228] |
| 60. Puliyūr | Tiruccirāppaḷḷi district, 7km South of Karūr | Seated buddha image[229] |
| 61. Taṅkaṉūr | Cēlam district | Two buddha images[230] |
| 62. Cēlam | Cēlam district | Mutilated buddha image[231] |
| 63. Ārakaṉūr | Āttūr taluk, Cēlam district | Buddha image[232] |
| 64. Tiyākaṉūr | Cēlam district | Buddha statue[233] |
| 65. Ālaṅkuṭipaṭṭi | Kuḷattūr taluk, Putukkōṭṭai | Buddha image[234] |
| 66. Veḷḷaṉūr alias Veḷḷiyanaḷḷūr | Putukkōṭṭai district | Buddha image[235] |
| 67. Ceṭṭipaṭṭi | Putukkōṭṭai district | Standing buddha[236] |
| 68. Tirupuvaṉam | Maturai district | Torso of buddha[237] |
| 69. Āttūr | Maturai district | Dhyāni buddha[238] |
| 70. Tañcakkūr | Maturai district | Seated buddha[239] |
| 71. Pāṇṭikkōyil at Maturai | Maturai district[240] | Buddhist shrine (?) |
| 72. Kaṭakattūr (Koḷahattūr) | Tarmapuri district | Two buddha images[241] |
| 73. Maṇikaṇṭi | Rāmanātapuram district | Buddha image[242] |
| 74. Iḷaiyāṉkuṭi | Paramakuṭi taluk, Ramanātapuram district | Buddha statue[243] |
| 75. Ariyāṉkuṇṭu (Puṅkaṭi tiṭal) | 10 km from Rāmēcuvaram | torso of buddha[244] |
| 76. Taṅkaccimaṭam | Near Rāmēcuvaram | Bronze head of the buddha[245] |
| 77. Kiḻparatavaṉūr (Poḷilūr) | Near the ManāMaturai-Paramakuṭi road | Seated buddha[246] |

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[224] Dhyāni Buddha, flanked by two attendants having flywhisks in their hands. 10th century AD. Now in the Government Museum at Tiruccirāpppaḷḷi.
[225] Information collected from the French Institute of Indology, Putuccēri.
[226] Information collected from the French Institute of Indology, Putuccēri.
[227] Information collected from the French Institute of Indology, Putuccēri.
[228] Information collected from the French Institute of Indology, Putuccēri.
[229] Information collected from ASI, Madras Circle.
[230] 13th century AD. *kalveṭṭu*, itaḻ 16, 1983, p. 3.
[231] Locally known as *talaiveṭṭi muṉivar*. *kalveṭṭu*, itaḻ 16, p. 4.
[232] Locally known as *koṅku cittar*. *kalveṭṭu*, itaḻ 16, p. 4.
[233] Information collected from the French Institute of Indology, Putuccēri.
[234] vēṅkaṭacāmi, *pauttamum*...,pa 51; Minakshi, "Buddhism...", p. 103.
[235] vēṅkaṭacāmi, *pauttamum*..., pa 51; Minakshi, "Buddhism...", p. 103.
[236] 3 feet 9 inches high and a mound called *camaṇar kuṇṭu*, also found in the locality. vēṅkatacāmi, *pauttamum*...,pa 51.
[237] Now in Nāyak Mahal, Maturai.
[238] 11–12th century AD.
[239] Information collected from ASI, Madras Circle.
[240] 10 km east of Maturai on the Maṭurai – Civakaṅkar road. Seems to have been originally dedicated to Buddhism, but later converted.
[241] 8th–10th cent. AD. Now in the State Archaeology Museum, Tarmapuri. One is a headless seated Buddha in Dhyāna mudrā and another is a standing Buddha.
[242] Information collected from ASI, Madras Circle.
[243] Information collected from the French Institute of Indology, Putuccēri.
[244] 12th cent. AD. Published in *tiṉamaṇi* 18-4-92 and 1-4-92.
[245] There is also a pedestal with an attendant deity associated with a Buddha. *tiṉamaṇi* 28-4-92.
[246] Mutilated buddha and a pedestal of a buddha statue on a mound of the village. Early Pāṇṭiya period. *kalveṭṭu*, itaḻ 22, p. 47.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 78. Teṉkarai | Tiruccentūr taluk Citamparaṇār district | Buddha image[247] |
| 79. Nākarkōyil | Akattīcuvaram taluk, Kaṉyākumari district | Buddha image[248] |
| 80. Arikamēṭu (Ariyāṉ kuppam) | Putuccēri State | Seated Buddha[249] |
| 81. Maṇappaṭṭu | Putuccēri State | Torso of seated dhyāni buddha[250] |
| 82. Kirmāmpākkam | Putuccēri State | Buddha image[251] |
| 83.Karuvaṭikuppam | Putuccēri State | Buddha image[252] |
| 84. Tirunaḷḷāṟu | Kārraikāl, Putuccēri State | Buddha image[253] |
| 85. Maṅkalam | Tiruccirāppaḷḷi district | Buddha statue locally known as *ceṭṭiyār*. Presently kept in the Arāvāṇṭiyammaṉ kōvil.[254] |

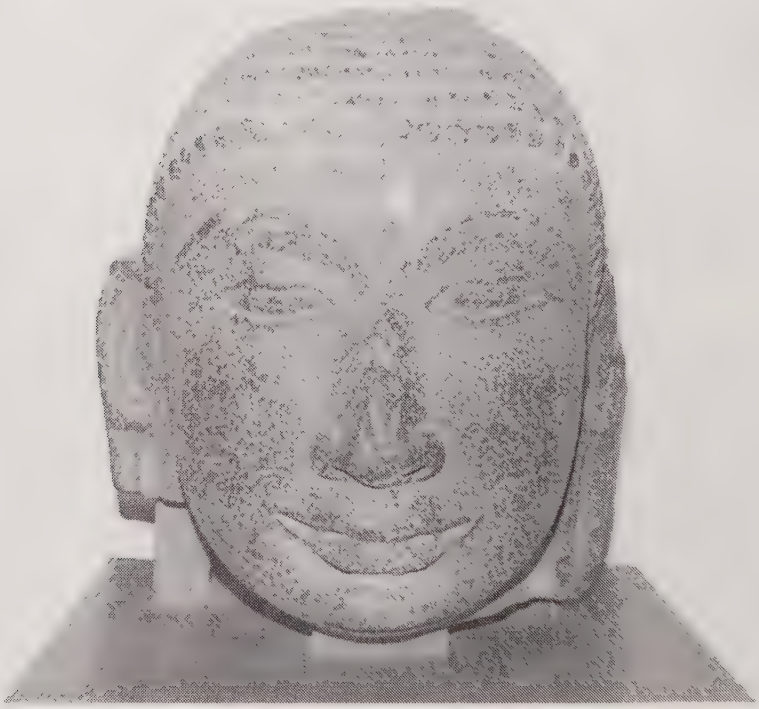

Fig 24. Photograph of number 82 a head of a puttar in stone from Kirmāmpakkam. Notice that his *ūrṇā*, "lock", is indeed a lock.

[247] Information collected from ASI, Madras Circle.
[248] Information collected from the French Institute of Indology, Putuccēri.
[249] Information collected from ASI, Madras Circle.
[250] Now in the Putuccēri Museum, Putuccēri.
[251] Now in the Putuccēri Museum, Putuccēri.
[252] Now in the Putuccēri Museum, Putuccēri.
[253] Information collected from the French Institute of Indology, Putuccēri.
[254] *Tiṉamaṇi* 18. 6. 99

Fig 25. Photograph of number 53 a Cōḻa stone image of a puttar. Vikkiramankalam. Tiruccirāpaḷḷi.

Fig 26. Photograph of number 80 a Cōla stone image of a sitting puttar integrated into Caiva worship Arikamēṭu, Putuccēri.

# 5.3. Buddhism in Nākapaṭṭiṉam

*Civacuppiramaṇiyam Patmanātaṉ*

## 5.3.1. The Cūḷāmaṇivarmavihāram of Nākapaṭṭiṉam

### 5.3.1.1. The Copper Plate Charters of the Cōḻa Kings

The establishment of the Cūḷāmaṇivarmavihāram at Nākapaṭṭiṉam during the 11th century by the kings of Sri Vijaya and the endowments made to it by the Cōḻas are recorded in two sets of copper plates, the Larger Leyden Plates and the Smaller Leyden Plates. They are so called because they are kept in the museum of the University of Leyden, Netherlands. These were first published by J A S Burgess and Naṭēcaṉ Cāttiri (Natesa Sastri) in the *Archaeological Survey of India*. Later they were critically edited for publication in the *Epigraphia Indica* by the erudite Ka Vi Cuppiriamaṇiyam aiyar (K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer) sixty years ago.[255] Although his skill as an epigraphist was unsurpassed, Ka Vi Cuppiramaṇiyam aiyar seems to have overlooked some points. A new and revised edition of these plates has become necessary as some misconceptions have come to the fore in recent scholarship on related matters owing to inadequate or false understanding.

This vihāram was of unusual significance as it was constructed at a seaport in the Cōḻa kingdom by the Śailendra kings of Sri Vijaya and supported with endowments made by Irācarācaṉ (Rājarāja) I and his successors.

The Larger Leyden Plates are unusual in respect of form and content and the processes they went through during the stages of preparation.[256] In this set there are altogether 21 copper plates of a large and uniform size held together by a massive ring, the ends of which are soldered into the frame of the seal. In the centre of the seal are depicted representations of the tiger and the double carp, which are respectively the emblems of the Cōḻas and Pāṇṭiyar. They are flanked on either side by the figures of a traditional lamp. Above the two dynastic emblems are representations of a parasol and two fly-whisks, the symbols of royal power. On the lower portion of the seal, the bow—the dynastic emblem of the Cērar, is depicted. All these figures are encircled by a ring round which a Sanskrit legend in Grantham characters is engraved. The legend reads,

*etad rājendra Cōḻasya parakēsari varmaṇah*
*rājad rājanya makuṭa śrēṇi ratnēsu śāsanam.*[257]
"This is the charter of Rājendra Cōḻa Parakesarivarman,
the crest jewel among the gems adorning the crowns of kings".

This short text proclaims that the copper plate charter was issued by Irācēntira Cōḻaṉ.

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[255] Subramanya Aiyer, "The Larger Leyden Plates [of Rājarāja I]", pp. 213–266.
[256] Ibid., p. 213.
[257] Ibid., pp. 245–246.

The Larger Leyden Plates containing in all 443 lines of writing are found, on closer examination, to consist of the texts of two separate charters drafted under two rulers, Irācarācaṉ I and his son Irācēntiraṉ I. Significantly, both texts were incorporated together and engraved on copper plates and issued in the reign of Irācēntiraṉ.

As sources of historical information the texts of the Leyden Plates are of the utmost importance. They provide useful insights into the nature and style of Cōḻa kingship and administration. They give information not obtainable elsewhere about some aspects of the relations between the Cōḻas and the kings of Sri Vijaya. Rare and valuable information about the ecology and topography of *kṣatriya śikhāmaṇi vaḷanāṭu*, one of the principal divisions of Cōḻamaṇṭalam, is recorded to an extent seldom found elsewhere. They also record the names of a very large number of local chieftains and officials. That there was a large and well-endowed Buddhist establishment at Nākapaṭṭiṉam in mediaeval times is known exclusively from these inscriptions. Finally, the most detailed account of a paḷḷiccantam in the whole range of Tamiḻ epigraphy is to be found in them.

In the present paper only the last two aspects are taken up for detailed consideration; the others which are not matters of immediate relevance are reserved for examination in the sequel.

On the basis of a scrutiny of the Tamiḻ portion of the text of the Leyden Plates, which is engraved in 332 lines on 16 plates, the events culmininating in the preparation of a royal charter under Irācarācaṉ granting the village of Āṉaimaṅkalam to the vihāram may be set forth in the following sequence.

1.On the 92nd day of the 21st year of his reign, the king who was sitting in the hall to the south of the palace called *rājāśrayaṉ* at the rear of the fortified portion of Tañjāvūr issued the order that the lands of Āṉaimaṅkalam should be given as a paḷḷiccantam for the requirements of the paḷḷi of *cūḷāmaṇivarma* vihāram that was being constructed at Nākapaṭṭiṉam by Cūḷāmaṇivarman, the king of Kaṭāram.

The royal order was recorded by Amutan Tīrttakaraṉ, a *kiḻavaṉ* of Viḷattūr in Āvūrkūṟṟam of Nittavinōta vaḷanāṭu. The order thus recorded was examined, approved and attested by three officials who had the designation *tirumantira ōlaināyakam*.

2.Eight functionaries of whom four had the designation *naṭuvirukkai* while the rest were described as agents supervising the conduct of government business directed that the royal order in the form of a *tīṭṭu* should be entered in the *vari*, tax register.

3. Once this was done on the 96th day of the 21st year, a royal order was addressed to the *nāṭṭār*, the governing bodies of the units called *ūr*, *nakaram* and *brahmadeyam* and "the residents" of the category of lands called paḷḷiccantam, all of Paṭṭinakūṟṟam, a sub-division of *kṣatriya śikhāmaṇi vaḷanāṭu*. The order was attested by a number of royal agents who had the designation *tirumantira ōlai*.

It stipulated that all those to whom it was addressed should define the boundaries of Āṉaimaṅkalam granted as a paḷḷiccantam and prepare a deed of execution of the royal order in conjunction with royal officials and a group of other individuals selected and sent by the king for that purpose.

4.The royal order was received by the *nāṭṭār* and as directed by it, the boundaries of the land granted as paḷḷiccantam were defined by making an elephant walk along them and stones and kaḷḷi, milk bush, were set out as boundary markers. The governing bodies of no less than 27 localities participated in the proceedings. On the completion of the task assigned to them a deed of execution of the royal order was drawn up and attested by the representatives of local bodies involved in the transactions and the royal officers participating in the proceedings. It is significant that this document incorporated the *meykkīrtti*, the inscriptional preamble of Irācarācaṉ, as its initial portion.

5.The document thus compiled was taken to the *puravu vari* where it was entered on the 163rd day of the 23rd year.

*yāṇṭu irupattu mūṉṟāvatu nāḷ aṟupattumūṉṟināl variyiliṭṭuk kuṭuttatu.*[258]
" [this was] given after having been entered in the vari on the 163rd day of the 23rd year [of the king]".

6. On the basis of this entry a charter was formulated and entered as dictated by Irācarācaṉ. The charter of Irācarācaṉ as found incorporated in the Leyden Plates refers to him in several places in the first person. This document incorporates the entries in two separate texts: the royal order addressed to the nāṭṭār and others, and the deed of execution of the royal order as drafted by the representatives of locality associations and royal officials.

As the charter of Irācarācaṉ specifically states that the grant of the paḷḷiccantam was to be effective from the 21st year of his reign, it may justifiably be assumed that Irācarācaṉ had issued a charter in this connection during the latter part of his reign. The fact that it had to be engraved on copper plates under Irācēntiraṉ may suggest that this charter was originally recorded on perishable material and issued to those in charge of the vihāram.[259] Or else it may be supposed that a delay in the issue of the charter was caused by unforseen circumstances, possibly a delay in the completion of work in the construction of the vihāram.

The initial portion of the text of the Leyden Plates contains a praśasti of Irācēntira Cōḻaṉ. It is a Sanskrit composition engraved on five copper plates in Grantham characters and consists of 111 lines of writing. The traditional account of the origins of the Cōḻa dynasty and some of the kings who belonged to it are described poetically. The concluding portion of the text contains an

[258] Ibid., p. 254, lines 322–323.
[259] Such an impression is supported by the claim made in the Sanskrit portion of the text that Rājendra Cōḻa caused a permanent edict (*śāsanaṃ śāsvatam*) of the grant made by his father, "the emperor Rājarāja" previously. Vide ibid, p. 242, line 88.

account of the construction of Cūḷāmaṇivarma vihāram at Nākapaṭṭiṉam, which is said to have been constructed by the King of Kaṭāram, Śrī Māra Vijayottuṅkavarman, in the name of his father Śrī Cūḷāmaṇivarman. Reference is also made here to the grant of Āṉaimaṅkalam by Irācarācaṉ as a paḷḷiccantam to the Cūḷāmaṇivarma vihāram. The charter of Irācēntiraṉ Cōḷaṉ had the effect of confirming the grant made earlier by his father. As all the information pertaining to the paḷḷiccantam is set forth elaborately in the charter drawn up by Irācarācaṉ, the text of it was incorporated fully and without any modification in the charter of confirmation issued under his son.[260]

The praśasti of Irācēntiraṉ is said to have been composed by Ānanatnārāyaṇa of Kōṭṭaiyūr, a brāhmaṇa of the lineage of vaśiṣṭha.[261] On the instruction of the king, the mahādhikārin Irācarācaṉ mūvēnta vēḷāṉ, otherwise called Tillaiyāḷi of Kāñcivāyil, caused the charter to be engraved on copper plates. The task of preparing the plates and engraving them was accomplished by five craftsmen from Kāñci: the master craftsman Kiruṣṇaṉ Vāsutēvaṉ, otherwise called Rājarājappērācāriyaṉ, Kiruṣṇaṉ Tiruvaraṅkaṉ, Kiruṣṇaṉ Tāmōtiraṉ, Vasudevan Kiruṣṇaṉ and Ārāvamirtu Puruṣōttamaṉ, all of whom were skilled painters and sculptors.[262]

The "Smaller Leyden Plates" issued by Kulōttuṅka Cōḷaṉ in the 20th year of his reign contain 52 lines of writing on three plates: the text which is entirely in Tamiḻ and commences with the form of his meykkīrtti, beginning with the expressions pukaḻmātu viḷaṅka, records some details pertaining to the Cūḷāmaṇivarmavihāram and its endowments.[263] The charter was issued to the community of monks, caṅkattār, attached to the institution after representations made to the Cōḷa monarch by two envoys of the ruler of Kaṭāram. The text of the inscription is significant for providing insights into the relations between the Cōḷas and the rulers of Sri Vijaya during the closing years of the 11th century, and additional information on the endowments that had been made to the vihāram since the reign of Irācarācaṉ.

The circumstances surrounding the royal order pertaining to the issue of a fresh charter in respect of the Cūḷāmaṇivarmavihāram are briefly alluded to in the inscription. On a certain day in the 20th year of his reign, when the monarch Kulōttuṅka Cōḷaṉ was occupying the seat called Kāliṅkarāyaṉ in the consecration hall at the palace of Āyirattaḷi, the palace of thousand chambers, otherwise called āhavamallakulakālapuram, he received in audience two envoys of the king of Kaṭāram.[264] The envoys, Rājavidyādhara śrī-sāmanta and Abhimānottuṅga śrī-sāmanta, appealled for a fresh copper plate charter to be

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[260] It would appear that the concluding portion of the Tamiḻ text was added by the officials of Rājendra after checking the copies in the original entry.

[261] Kōṭṭaiyūr is identical with the village of that name in the Kumpakōṇam taluk of the Tañjāvūr District. From the inscriptions of the locality it is learnt that Kōṭṭaiyūr was attached to Innamparnāṭu. Vide *EI* 22, pp. 222–223.

[262] These five individuals are described as *praśastīm-ēnam-alikhan pañch-aitē chitrakāriṇah.* Vide ibid., p. 243, 11. 107–8.

[263] Subramanya Aiyer, "The Smaller Leyden Plates", pp. 267–281.

issued to the caṅkattār of Rājarājapperumpaḷḷi and Rājendracōḷapperumpaḷḷi confirming the tax remissions made in recent times and vesting the lands of the paḷḷiccantam with the caṅkattār after removing the kāṇiyālar of these lands.

In response to the appeal the king issued an order with the instruction that the *atikāri* Rājendraciṅka- mūvēntavēḷār should, in conjunction with Rājavallava Pallavaraiyaṉ, the *sandhivigrahi*, draw up a copper plate charter to that effect.

The text of the charter prepared at the instance of these dignitaries was engraved on copper plates by Nikarili-Cōḷaṉ Maturāntakan, who was attached to the group of *vikkiramāparaṇat-terinta valaṅkai vēḷaikkāṟar* posted at the inner backyard (*uṭkōṭi*) of the palace.

### 5.3.1.2. The Cūḷāmaṇivarmavihāram

The construction and maintenance of the Cūḷāmaṇivarmavihāram at Nākapaṭṭiṉam was an enterprise depending on cooperation and close understanding between the Cōḷas and the kings of Kaṭāram.[265] The kings of Sri Vijaya, who were of the Śailendra dynasty, had shown an abiding interest in the cause of promoting Buddhism by constructing impressive monuments, and in several other ways in their dominions. That their concern for Buddhism and its institutions was not restricted to their dominions is clearly suggested by historical evidence pertaining to the Buddhist establishment at Nākapaṭṭiṉam, one of the principal centres of international commerce in South India during the 11th and 12th centuries.

It is not unlikely that there were in this flourishing town Buddhist settlements with mercantile associations and South-East Asian connections. Such an assumption seems to be supported by the evidence from the inscription on the pedestal of a bronze image from Nākapaṭṭiṉnam, which is presently in the John D Rockefeller Collection of Asian Art. Nākapaṭṭiṉam was undoubtedly a vital point of intersection for the international trade routes linking the commercial entrepots of South and South-East Asia. That there could have been

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[264] The description of the *tirumañcanac cālai* as "the bathing hall" does not appear to be correct in this context. Ka Vi Cuppiramaṇiyam aiyar and others have understood this expression in a too literal sense. The expression is often encountered in the epigraphic records of the Cōḷa Pāṇṭiyar and the Pāṇṭiya kings. It is always used to designate an area of the palace from where the king issued orders. The *tirumañcanac cālai* could not have denoted a bathing hall in the palace because the king could not have had his regular bath in a place other than a private apartment. Moreover, it would appear strange that Kulōttuṅka Cōḷaṉ had audience with the envoys of a foreign king in his bathing hall. As the *tirumañcanac cālai* is mentioned in connection with the transaction of business by the king it should be construed as a place where matters were conducted with solemnity and dignity in the presence of dignitaries and functionaries. The word may be considered as a synonym for *abhiṣeka maṇḍapa*, the hall of consecration and coronation.

[265] *kaṭāram* is the Tamiḻ form of the Malay name of the principal town in the Malay peninsula in the days of the Śailendra monarchy. *kaṭāka* is its Sanskrit equivalent. Although the Śailendras were established at Sri Vijaya in Sumatra they are described as kings of Kaṭāram in the Cōḷa inscriptions as Kaṭāram was, to the Tamiḻar of the time, the best known among the cities controlled by the Śailendra kings of Sri Vijaya.

close connections between the monastic orders of Nākapaṭṭiṉam and those of Sri Vijaya is another strong possibility.

Whatever the antecedents and motivations were, it is certain that the rulers of Kaṭāram were responsible for the construction of a Buddhist establishment at the principal emporium of the Cōḻa kingdom in the 11th century. Cūḷāmaṇivarman, the king of Kaṭāram, had initiated action on the project to construct a vihāram at Nākapaṭṭiṉam around the 21st year (1006 AD) of Irācarācaṉ's reign. In that year, as attested by the Larger Leyden Plates, it was under construction, and while it was in the stage of construction it acquired the name *cūḷāmaṇivarma*vihāra*m* after the name of its founder.[266] The name, once conferred, remained unchanged at least until the 20th year of the reign of Kulōttuṅka Cōḻaṉ I (AD 1090), after which there is no further mention of this institution.

The construction of the vihāram was not completed during the lifetime of Cūḷāmaṇivarman, the Sri Vijaya contemporary of Irācarācaṉ. It continued to be in progress until the accession of his son and successor, Sri Māra Vijayottuṅgavarman, in whose reign it was finished. Such a conclusion is supported by the praśasti of Irācēntira Cōḻaṉ incorporated into the text of the Leyden Plates. It specifically states that the Cūḷāmaṇivarmavihāram had been erected by the lord of Sri Vijaya and king of Kaṭāram, Sri Māra Vijayottuṅgavarman of the Śailendra dynasty in the name of his father (*sva piturnāmnā*) Cūḷāmaṇivarman.[267] So the work of construction was over and the institution was formally established when Irācēntiraṉ issued his charter.

The praśasti of Irācēntiraṉ, however, does not contain any reference to the date on which his charter was issued. Therefore, it is on the basis of circumstantial evidence that one could draw inferences regarding this matter. As the king of Kaṭāram, who was a contemporary of Irācēntiraṉ, is referred to in the most complimentary terms in the Leyden Plates, it may be assumed that Irācēntiraṉ's charter was issued during the early years of his reign and before 1022 AD, when hostilities broke out between the two rulers leading to a Cōḻa naval expedition directed against the coastal districts of the kingdom of Sri Vijaya.

That the Cūḷāmaṇivarmavihāram had the alternative name *rājarājapperumpaḷḷi* is clear from a description in the Smaller Leyden Plates. The expressions *śrī śailendra chūḍāmanivarma*vihāra*māna rājarājap-perum paḷḷikku* as found in them translates as "to the Rājarājapperum paḷḷi otherwise called Śrī Śailendra Chūḍāmanivarmavihāram". Another *perum*paḷḷi, the *rājendra cōḻap-perumpaḷḷi*, is also referred to in the Smaller Leyden Plates. They record the interesting information that the king of Kaṭāram constructed the Rājarājap-

[266] The expression *…kaṭārattaraiyan… nākapaṭṭinattu eṭuppikkiṉra cūḷāmaṇi panma* vihāra*ttu…*, "of the Cūḷamaṇipanmavihāram which is being constructed at Nākappaṭṭiṉam by the king of Kaṭāram" as found in the Leyden Plates clearly suggests that the work of construction was in progress during the 21st year of Rājarāja when he granted Āṉaimaṅkalam as a paḷḷi*ccantam*. Vide *EI* 22, pp. 244, lines 13–15.

[267] Ibid., p. 242, lines 80–83.

perumpaḷḷi and the Rājendra cōḻap-perumpaḷḷi at Nākapaṭṭiṉam. It may be assumed that the perumpaḷḷi named after Irācēntiraṉ Cōḻaṉ was constructed during his reign and placed under the management of the Rājarājap-perumpaḷḷi. Such an impression seems to be confirmed by the fact that the reference to the Rājarājap-perumpaḷḷi is only in the portion of the text that relates to the units of paḷḷiccantam.

The Leyden Plates seem to use the expressions perumpaḷḷi and paḷḷi without clarity or precision. Sometimes they are used interchangeably. In Tamiḻ literature and epigraphy Jain and Buddhist monastic establishments are commonly referred to as paḷḷi. The expression perumpaḷḷi, which is formed by the addition of the adjectival prefix *perum* to *paḷḷi*, has the connotation "large monastery". The references in the Leyden Plates, however, suggest that impressions formed purely on the basis of morphological and structural analysis of words could sometimes be misleading.

The context in which they occur in the Smaller Leyden Plates suggests that both terms had the same connotation, as can be seen from the following example:

(1) *śri-śailendra chūḍamaṇivarma—vihāramāna rājarājap -perumpaḷḷi*,
"srī Śailendra chūḍamaṇivarma vihāram otherwise called Rājarājap-perumpaḷḷi".[268]
(2) *kiṭārattaraiyaṉ eṭuppitta rājendra cōḻap-perum paḷḷikkum rājarājap perumpaḷḷikkum paḷḷiccantam āna ūrkaḷ,*
"the villages which have been endowed as paḷḷiccantam to Rājendra Cōḻap perumpaḷḷi and Rājarājap-perumpaḷḷi constructed by the king of Kaṭāram".[269]
(3) *ippaḷḷikkup pātiyum*,
"half of which amount was assigned to this paḷḷi.[270]
(4) *ippaḷḷiccaṅkattārkkē kāṇiyāka koṭuttōm*,
"we gave (these) as kāṇi to the caṅkattār of this paḷḷi"[271].

It may be noted that the perumpaḷḷi of items 1 and 2 cited here is referred to as paḷḷi in items 3 and 4 recorded in the same text.

The Larger Leyden Plates, however, apply the term paḷḷi to denote a component unit of the vihāram. The expressions *cūḷāmaṇivarmavikārattu paḷḷikku vēṇṭum nivantaṅkaḷukku,* as found in them,[272] translate as "for the requirements of the paḷḷi of Cūḷāmaṇipanmavihāram". The paḷḷi in this instance was doubtless a shrine attached to the monastic establishment, the vihāram. Even a component unit of a monastic establishment could be described as a perumpaḷḷi, as it is in the case of the Daḷadāyp-perumpaḷḷi at Polonnaṟuvai.

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[268] Subramanya Aiyer, "The Smaller Leyden Plates", p. 278, line 40.
[269] *kiṭārattaraiyan... cōḻakulavallippaṭṭinattu eṭuppitta rājendra cōḻap-perum* paḷḷikkum *rājarājap-perum*paḷḷikkum paḷḷiccantamāna *ūrkaḷ*... Vide ibid., p. 276, lines 6–7.
[270] EI 22, p. 243.
[271] Ibid., p. 278.
[272] Loc. cit.

As the two words paḷḷi and perumpaḷḷi occur frequently in inscriptions relating to Buddhist foundations, it is necessary to clarify their connotations. Both words are used interchangeably to designate a monastic establishment. Besides, even a component unit of such an establishment could be denoted by either of the two words. Their precise connotation has to be understood in the textual context.

The Larger Leyden Plates describe the Cūḷāmaṇivarmavihāram as an exceedingly beautiful structure surpassing the mountain Kanakakiri on account of its design and proportions.[273] Although we may not attach much significance to such a poetic description there are indications suggesting that the Buddhist establishment of Nākapaṭṭiṉam was of monumental design and large proportions. The Cūḷāmaṇivarmavihāram is said to have been located at Nākapaṭṭiṉam of *pattiṉakūṟṟam*, a sub-division of *kṣatriya śikhāmaṇi vaḷanāṭu*. Under Kulōttuṅka Cōḷaṉ I (1070–1122) Nākapaṭṭiṉam acquired the name *cōḷakulavallip*-pattiṉ*am*. The *kṣatriya śikhāmaṇi vaḷanāṭu* of the days of Irācarācaṉ and his successors became *gēyamaṇikka vaḷanāṭu* under Kulōttuṅka Cōḷaṉ I.

The site of the Cūḷāmaṇivarmavihāram (*paḷḷinilai*) and its premises (*paḷḷi viḷākam*) occupied land to the extent of thirty-one and three-quarter *vēli*, two *mā* and one *muntirikai*.[274] The boundaries of this land were defined and fixed before the Smaller Leyden Plates were issued. The eastern boundary was the sand hill on the sea-shore. The southern boundary of the vihāram premises extended to the north of the well called Pukaiyuṇṇi and to the north of the land belonging to the Temple of Tiruvīraṭṭānamuṭaiyār, which was situated to the west of the well; it also went to the west of the high road to Kāraikkāl, which proceeds westward from the north bank of the tank dug out by Mārāyaṉ at Paravaikkuḷam to the west of the land of the temple mentioned above.

The western boundary was to the east of the high road to Kāṟaikkāl. The northern boundary was to the south of the boundary of the land called Vaṭakāṭanpāṭi in Cōḷakulavallippaṭṭiṃam.[275] It is thus clear from the description of the boundaries that the Cūḷāmaṇivarmavihāram was located on the sea coast and situated on the high road from Nākapaṭṭiṉam to Kāṟaikkāl. The location provided the ideal setting for overseas connections and mercantile associations.

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[273] Ibid., p. 261. The expression *kanagagiri* occurs in the Sanskrit portion of the Leyden plates. It means "the golden mountain", an imagined entitity often referred to in old texts. Sometimes the Himalayas are referred to as "the golden maountain". The expression *intap poṉmalai ātalin* is applied to the Himalayas in the *talapurāṇam* called *takṣiṇa kālācapurāṇam*. Vide *takṣiṇakailācapurāṇam*, pakuti 1, ākkiyōn makāvittuvān ciṅkaic cekarācacēkaran, poruḷākkam paṇṭitar kā ce nāṭarācā, īlamaṇṭala carukkam, ceyyul 2, pa. 1.

[274] *EI 22*, pp. 242.

[275] *EI 22*, pp. 278.

### 5.3.1.3. The Tower of Nākapaṭṭiṉam

There is no mention after the 11th century in epigraphy or literature of the Cūḷāmaṇivarmavihāram, which was for some time the principal centre of Buddhist scholastic and cultural activities in the Tamiḻ country. Tradition has not preserved for posterity, even in a distorted form, any memories of this establishment. The weather-beaten three-storeyed tower which was a principal landmark on the coast of Nākapaṭṭiṉam until its demolition in 1867 may be identified as an architectural remnant of the Cūḷāmaṇivarmavihāram.

Sir Walter Elliot who saw this tower in 1848 said, "I found it to be a somewhat four sided tower of three stories, constructed of bricks closely together without cement, the first and second stories divided by corniced mouldings, with an opening for a door or window in the middle of each side. At the top of the lowest storey were marks in the wall showing where the floor of the second had been fixed. The top was open. The base of the ground store was worn at the angles, from collision with passers-by and cattle, but the structure was solid and firm. No trace of sculpture or inscription was visible".[276]

Writing in 1878 he said, "Till within the last few years there was to be seen on the Coromandel coast, between one and two miles to the north of Negapatam, a tall weather-beaten tower affording a useful landmark to vessels passing up and down the coast. It went by various names, as the Puduveli gopuram, the old pagoda, Chinese pagoda (Valentyn mentions it as Pagood China in 1725) and in the map of the Trignometrical Survey (sheet 79) it stands as the Jeyna [Caiṉa] Pagoda. But save in name it has nothing in common with Hindu and Mahommedan architecture, either in form or in ornament. Tradition is silent as to its origin or purpose, and although it has been the subject of frequent speculation, no satisfactory theory has been found to account for it".[277]

Certainly Walter Elliot would have modified his opinion if the editions of the Leyden Plates had been available to him. It was the Jesuits who were responsible for the disappearance of the three-storeyed tower at Nākapaṭṭiṉam. They founded a settlement at Nākapaṭṭiṉam after they had been expelled from Putuccēṟi (Pondichery). The new settlers applied for permission to dismantle the tower in 1859. The District Engineer, Captain Oakes, recommended its demolition on the ground that it was an old and dilapidated building not deserving the name of an ancient monument, as it had neither any sculpture nor inscriptions. In response to the protest of Sir Walter Elliot, the Governor deferred the demolition order until he had seen it himself. Sir Charles Trevelyan went to Nākapaṭṭiṉam, but was not impressed by its great antiquity. He thought that the expenditure on it was a waste of public money, but did not accept the recommendation for its demolition. He directed that it be fenced round with an enclosure to secure its safety and at the same time ordered photographs of it to be taken. However, his orders were not carried out.

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[276] Sir Walter Elliot, "The Edifice Formerly known as the Chinese or Jaina Pagoda at Negapatam", *The Indian Antiquary* 7 (1878), pp. 224–227.
[277] Elliot, "The Edifice... ", pp. 224–227.

In 1867 the Jesuits renewed their petition for the demolition of the tower, but the Chief Engineer recommended repairs because it was used as a landmark for vessels approaching the Nākapaṭṭiṉam roadstead and because of the fact that the local population objected to its removal. The blow came on 28th August 1867, when the Governor in council issued permission for the removal of the tower by the officers of St.Joseph's College, at their expense, and the appropriation of the available materials to such school-building purposes as they had in mind.[278]

### 5.3.1.4. The Endowments: paḷḷiccantam

All endowments made to Jain and Buddhist institutions are described as paḷḷiccantam in Tamiḻ epigraphy. tēvatānam was the corresponding term applied in respect of endowments made to Caiva and Vaiṇava temples. Such endowments were made for to supply the requirements of daily worship and rituals, special and annual festivals, other religious and charitable activities and for the maintenance of functionaries attached to shrines.

There are indications to suggest that there were in Paṭṭinakūṟṟam areas of land belonging to the category of paḷḷiccantam prior to the construction of the Cūḷāmaṇivarmavihāram. The residents of paḷḷiccantam villages (*paḷḷiccanta.. ūrkaḷilār*) were among the communities to whom the order of the king was addressed. Besides, it states in the text of the order that the land granted by Irācarācaṉ included plots which had ceased to be paḷḷiccantam (*paḷḷiccantam iṟaṅkaḷ*). Such references certainly presuppose the existance of one or more establishments called paḷḷi before the king of Kaṭāram commenced work on the construction of a vihāram. It is also significant that there were already some paḷḷiccantam villages in the area when Irācarācaṉ converted Āṉaimaṅkalam into a paḷḷiccantam. There were some other areas of land whose tenure as paḷḷiccantam had lapsed.[279] It may therefore be assumed that the Buddhist establishments at Nākapaṭṭiṉam had their origins before the reign of Irācarācaṉ, but we are not in a position to ascertain for how long they had flourished before his time. Perhaps chance discoveries in the future and a scientific study of some of the archaeological remains found scattered in museums and elsewhere may throw light on this matter. It may be noted here that the construction of the Cūḷāmaṇivarmavihāram represented a major effort to revive and strengthen a tradition that had its roots in the locality.

The Cūḷāmaṇivarmavihāram was sufficiently endowed by Irācarācaṉ and other Cōḷa kings and it was probably for this reason that it was given the additional name Rājarājap-perumpaḷḷi. Mention must be made here also of the fact that one of its component units was called Rājendra Cōḷapperumpaḷḷi. The whole village of Āṉaimaṅkalam of Paṭṭiṉakkūṟṟam was granted as a paḷḷiccan-

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[278] Ibid., p. 225.

[279] The expressions *paḷḷiccantam iṟaṅkal nīkki* as found in the inscription presuppose that some of the lands whose tenure as *paḷḷiccantam* had lapsed were reconverted into the category of *paḷḷiccantam* by Rājarāja when he made the grant.

tam to this institution for the requirements (*nivantaṅkaḷukku*) of the paḷḷi. So the text of the charter drafted under Irācarācaṉ presupposes that the grant was made for the purpose of conducting rituals and services at a temple attached to the vihāram.

The lands of Āṉaimaṅkalam granted as paḷḷiccantam covered an area of 97 *vēli*, 2 *mā*, 3 1/2 *kāṇi* and 1 *muntirikai*. The tax on the produce of this land (*kāṇikkaṭan*) amounted to 8943 *kalam* of paddy.[280] The Irācarācaṉ's order addressed to the officials at the unit of the *puravu-varit-tiṇaikkaḷam* stipulated that the taxes due to the king should be assigned to the perumpaḷḷi with effect from the 21st year of his reign.

The rights and privileges (*parihāras*) of the donee are sometimes defined in land grants. In the Larger Leyden Plates they are defined at considerable length. The relevant portion of the text runs

"The donee shall have possession of the wet lands, dry lands, the village, the village site, ponds, temples, the quarters inhabited by the *paṟaiyar*, the quarters of the artisans, and the burning grounds included within the four boundaries described."

"The following are the conditions to be observed in thus taking possession of the village inclusive of *kārāṉmai* and *mīyāṭci* with the excess and deficiency in it, the houses, house sites, the shops, the bazaar street, assembly grounds, waste lands set apart for grazing calves, ponds, *koṭṭakaram*, valleys and wells, ant hills, mounds (*teṟṟi*), forests, *pīṭilikai*, barren lands, rivers, arable lands near rivers, streams, beaches, pits containing fish, gardens with their honey (produce), trees growing up and wells sunk down, without excluding any of the existing land covered with water or rolled by the harrow or where the iguana runs or the tortoise crawls."

"Channels shall be dug (so as) to irrigate the lands of the villages and their waste overflow shall be collected in canals and led away. It is not permissible for others to cut branches, dam them across, put up small picottable or bale water in baskets. Good water shall not be used for common purposes, but it may be dammed and made to irrigate (lands)."

"Mansions and large edifices shall be built of burnt tiles. Large wells shall be sunk. Coconut trees shall be planted in groves. *tamanakam*, *maruvu*, *iruvēli*, *ceṇpakam*, *ceṅkaḷunīr*, mango, jack, arecāpalm, palmyra, vine (*koṭi*) and other useful trees of various descriptions shall be sown and planted. Oil press shall be set up. Such of the irrigation channels as are cut through the lands of this village and (made to) pass to outlying villages shall be permitted to flow over and be collected. (In like manner the channels cut through the lands of the outlying villages and (made to) pass into this village for the irrigation of lands shall be permitted to flow over and be collected. *īḻavar* shall not

[280] The *vēli* amounting to 6.74 acres was the largest unit of land measurement. Originally it was in vogue in the Cōḻa country and under the imperial Cōḻas it was used all over the dominions which came under Cōḻa rule. The *mā* was a twentieth of the *vēli* and was equivalent to 4 *kāṇi*. A *kāṇi* was equivalent to 4 1/2 *muntirikai*. Vide Sastri, The *Cōḻas* 2, pp. 456–461, especially p. 552.

be permitted to climb the palmyra and coconut trees. Big drums and ornamental arches in three rows shall be allowed for families, according to custom."

On receiving the lands described in the foregoing manner the privileges conferred were as follows:

*nātāṭci* (levy for the administration of the *nāṭu*),
*ūrāṭci* (levy for administering the village),
*vaṭṭināḻi* (one measure of grain collected from each basket),[281]
*piṭānāḻi*,[282] *kaṇṇālakkāṇam* (fee of one kaṇam of gold) received on every marriage occasion),[283]
*vaṇṇārappāṟai* (levy on washermen's stones),
*kucakkāṇam* (fee of one *kāṇam* paid by every potter), water rates,
*ilai-kūlam* (levy on the sale of betel leaves),
*taṟippuṭavai* (levy on looms of weavers),
*taraku* (levy on brokers),
*taṭṭārpāṭṭam* (levy on goldsmiths),
*iṭaippāṭṭam* (levy on shepherds),
*āṭṭukkiṟai* (levy on herds of goats),
*nallāvu* (levy on milk cows),
*nallerutu* (levy on stud bulls),
*nāṭukāval* (levy for remunerating the guards of the *nāṭu*),
*ūṭupōkku* (levy on crossings),[284]
*viṟpiṭi* (the levy of a handful on commodities on sale),[285]
*vāḻamañcāṭi, ulku* (levy on imports), [286]
*ōṭakkūli* (fee on ferries), tolls,
*manupāṭuu* (fines collected by judicial tribunals),
*maraviaii* (levies on usufructuary trees),[287]
*tīyeri* (levy on fire-pots),[288]
*īḻampūṭci* (levy on toddy tappers),
*kūttikāl* (levy on dancers).[289]

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[281] Modern lexicographers have not come up with a proper definition of *vaṭṭināḻi*. It was probably an item of tax levied in markets on the sale of grain.

[282] The exact meaning of *piṭānāḻi* cannot be ascertained as the word has become obsolete, although it is clear from the context that it was a levy collected from the people. A satisfactory explanation could be offered only once the term *piṭā* (basket?) is elucidated.

[283] *kaṇṇālam*, which is the first word in the compound expression *kaṇṇālakkāṇam*, is considered to be a colloquial form of *kalyāṇam* meaning wedding or festival.

[284] Subramaniam, however, explains the term as one signifying the cultivation of crops in the interval between two main seasons of cultivation. This explanation is of doubtful validity. Vide Subramaniam, *South Indian Temple Inscriptions* 3, pt. 2, p. 1405.

[285] The expression *viṟpiṭi* which is formed by combining the word *vil* (sale,bow), and *piṭi* (handful, hold) could be explained in two ways. It could denote the levy of a handful on each sale of specified quantities of grain or a levy on the profession of archery.

[286] Subramaniam, South Indian Temple Inscriptions 3, pt. 2, p. 1570.

[287] The word identified as māviaii by Ka Vi Cuppiramaṇiyam Aiyar may be recognised as maraviaii, as thsign for the medial a and that for aa were identical during this period. Besides, the references to taxes onherds of goats, cows and bulls in the text of the inscription suggests that the word concerned designated a levy not on cattle but on some other item.

"And other items as the king could enjoy, shall not henceforth be received by the king but shall be taken by the authorities of this paḷḷi."[290]

From the foregoing description of the paḷḷiccantam as set forth in the Larger Leyden Plates, it is clear that Āṉaimaṅkalam was a prosperous village predominantly agricultural in character and inhabited by a number of communities involved in a variety of trades. In addition to agriculturists there were herdsmen and stockbreeders, weavers, artisans, traders, goldsmiths, drummers and toddy tappers. Agricultural land was of both the irrigable and non-irrigable categories. There were facilities for irrigation by means of canals and branch channels. Āṉaimaṅkalam and its neighbouring villages were apparently linked together by an irrigation network.

It is significant that the account of the iṟaiyili paḷḷiccantam encountered here contains a description of the boundaries of the locality, the types and categories of land and people living in the locality, and the resources of the locality. The rights and privileges conferred on the donee were in relation to the lands, people and resources confined to a defined and demarcated territory. The principal rights conferred on the donee are described as *kārāṇmai* and *mīyāṭci*, the two principal determinants of tenurial rights in the agrarian system of the mediaeval Tamiḻ kingdoms.

From the numerous tēvatānam grants described in a large number of epigraphic records it is clear that the lands of the class of *iṟaiyili* (tax-free) had the rights of kārāṇmai and mīyāṭci attached to them. Lexicographers have defined these items in vague terms and without clarity or precision. The first of these items is defined variously as "the cultivators right", "the right of raising crops", "hereditary right to land", "an estate", or "the right of possession".[291] mīyāṭci is defined as "proprietorship" or "overlordship".[292] Nevertheless, in the description of the iṟaiyili as given in the Leyden Plates the two terms may be defined respectively as the right of possession and the right of collecting dues payable to the lord of the land.

An iṟaiyili paḷḷiccantam was in effect a unit of land inhabited and cultivated by people and assigned to a monastic establishment by the ruler for specific purposes. The donor transferred his rights over lands to the recipients of the donation. There is nothing to suggest that the donee acquired anything like

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[288] In those days facilities for lighting fire were provided to the people of the locality for a fee by those engaged in maintaining fires burning in earthen vessels. So tīyeri which is listed along with several items of levies may be considered as a levy on those engaged in this service. Another plausible explanation is that tīyeri was not a levy but an obligation, a service which the inhabitants had to render to the rulers. When the agents of the king were passing through a locality or camping there at night the inhabitants might have been expected to provide torches.

[289] kūttikāl does not figure as a lexical item in modern dictionaries as it has become obsolete and is never encountered in literature. It is not found even in epigraphical glossaries. As the word kūtti denotes a person engaged in dancing as a profession kūttikāl may denote a levy collected from dancers and harlots.

[290] Subramaniyam Aiyar " The Smaller Leyden Plates", pp. 273–280.

[291] *TL 2*, pp. 860. Winslow, *A Comprehensive Tamil* and *English Dictionary*, p. 279.

[292] *TL* 5, p. 3213.

absolute proprietory rights over the lands assigned to him.[293] The rights conferred were considerable but they had their limitations. The communities established at Āṉaimaṅkalam retained their customary rights in respect of cultivation, herding and stockbreeding, craft production, commerce and irrigation facilities and social usages. The extraction of toddy from the coconut and palmyra palms was the only practice that was prohibited.

The grant of Āṉaimaṅkalam as a paḷḷiccantam assured the supply of a regular and substantial income in kind and money to the authorities of the Cūḷāmaṇivarmavihāram. The revenue from land, which was the principal source of income, amounted to approximately 8 943 *kalam* of paddy. Besides this, they were entitled to the dues from no less than 27 different taxes levied on the residents of the village. These were levied on property, commodities of craft production, commodity exchanges and on passes and ferries.

The reference to paḷḷiccantam *ūrkaḷilār* in the charter of Irācarācaṉ presupposes that the villages of the category of paḷḷiccantam had their own arrangements for managing the affairs of the locality, as it was in the case of brahmadeyams and nakaram.

### 5.3.1.5. The Charter of Kulōttuṅka Cōḻaṉ I

As seen earlier the Smaller Leyden Plates record the charter issued by Kulōttuṅka Cōḻaṉ in the 20th year of his reign (1190 AD) to the *caṅkattār* of Cūḷāmaṇivarmavihāram in response to an appeal made by two envoys of the king of Kaṭāram. Some developments that had taken place prior to the event as well as other considerations had obliged the king of Kaṭāram to initiate action to secure a fresh charter for the authorities of the vihāram.

The remission or abolition of some taxes under Kulōttuṅka Cōḻaṉ, which is alluded to in these plates, had the effect of cancelling some of the items from the list of dues payable to the vihāram by the paḷḷiccantam villages.[294] Moreover, the envoys brought it to the notice of the Cōḻa monarch that the kāṇiyāḷar of the paḷḷiccantam villages should be removed and their rights invested with the caṅkattār, the community of monks attached to the vihāram.[295] It would thus appear that the envoys were making a request to alter the conditions on which the units of palliccantam villages were created earlier. Kulōttuṅka Cōḻaṉ responded favourably to their request by proclaiming an order that a fresh charter incorporating the terms as required by the two envoys be issued.

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[293] It may be relevant to consider here the views of C Minaksi on the land grants made by the Pallava kings. She said, "Though every one of these Pallava charters contains a long list of the pariharas and specific mention of other privileges which the donees were allowed to enjoy, not a single grant definitely confers on the donees the full proprietorship over the lands that were given to them. Though the donees of the *devadana* and *brahmadeyam* lands may be considered as owners of their property in the sense that they received not only the land rent but also the other revenue from the villages just as the state did, still full proprietory rights of the soil were denied to them because they could not alienate property by gift or sale..." Vide Minaksi, Administration…, p. 142.

[294] *EZ* 22, p. 276, lines 7–9.

[295] Ibid., p. 276, lines 9–10.

The charter that was consequently issued to the community of monks has some information about 9 units of paḷḷiccantam attached to the vihāram of Nākapaṭṭiṉam. The names of eight of these units and particulars about them are known exclusively from the Smaller Leyden Plates. The geographical location, the total amount of land tax according to official assessment and the fixed amount that had to be supplied (*niccayitta nellu*) to the vihāram are the principal items of information about them recorded in these plates.

Some information may be tabulated here in the following order:

| *name of unit* | *location* | *extent of land* | *assessed amount of land tax* | *fixed amount to be supplied* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1.Āṉaimaṅkalam | Paṭṭinakūṟṟam in Geyamāṇikka Vaḷanāṭu | 97 veli, 2 *mā* 1/2 *kāṇi* | 8,943 kalam | 4,500 kalam |
| 2.Brahmadeyam of Āṉaimaṅkalam. | Paṭṭinakūṟṟam in Geyamāṇikka Vaḷanāṭu | 12 3/4 vēli | 400 kalam | 260 kalam |
| 3.Muñcikkuṭi | Paṭṭinakūṟṟam in Geyamāṇikka Vaḷanāṭu | 27 3/4 *vēli* 3 1/2 *kani* | 2779 kalam | 1,800 kalam |
| 4.Āmūr | Tiruvārūrkūṟṟam | 106 *vēli* | 10,600 kalam | 5,850 kalam |
| 5.Vaṭakuṭi Nāṇalūr | Aḷanāṭu | 70 3/4 *vēli*, 4 1/2 *mā* | 6,514 kalam | 2,840 kalam |
| 6.Kīḻcantirapāti | Alanāṭu | 10 *vēli*, 2 *mā* 1/2 *kaṇi* | 1,012 kalam 1,000 kalam | 1,500 kalam |
| 7.Pālaiyūr Brahmadeyam | Alanāṭu | 60 3/4 *vēli* | - | - |
| 8.Puttakuṭi | Kurumpūrnāṭu in Jayaṅkoṇṭa Cōḻāvaḷanāṭu | 87 1/4 *vēli* | 8,720 kalam | 6,107 kalam |
| 9.Utayamārttāṇṭa nallūr | Iṭaikkaḷināṭu in Vijayarājendra Cōḻavaḷanāṭu | 3 veli 3 *mā* | 135 kalam | 78.5 kalam |

Fig 27. The Charter of Kulōttuṅka Cōḻaṉ I.

The villages attached as paḷḷiccantam to the Cūḷāmaṇivarmavihāram around 1190 AD were spread out in five divisions called *nāṭu* attached to three provinces called *vaḷanāṭu*. Āṉaimaṅkalam and Muñcikkuṭi were attached to Paṭṭinakkūṟṟam of Kṣatriya śikhāmaṇi vaḷanāṭu. In Āṉaimaṅkalam itself there were

two units of paḷḷiccantam, one of which consisting of approximately 99 *vēli* was created by Irācarācaṉ. The Smaller Leyden Plates refer to another unit called the *brahmadeyam* of Āṉaimaṅkalam, which was previously a brahmadeyam as suggested by its name. It would appear that it was converted into a paḷḷiccantam after the reign of Irācarācaṉ. The paḷḷiccantam of Āmūr was in Tiruvārūrkūṟṟam and attached to the same vaḷanāṭu.

Vaṭakuti Nāṇalūr, Kīḻcantirapāṭi and Pālaiyūr brahmadeyam, described as paḷḷiccantam in the Smaller Leyden Plates, were located in Aḷanāṭu of Gēyamāṇikka vaḷanāṭu. The paḷḷiccantam of Puttakuṭi was in Kuṟumpūr nāṭu of Jayaṅkōṇṭa Cōḻavaḷanāṭu, while that of Utayamārttāṇṭanallūr was in Iṭaikkaḷināṭu of Vijayarājendra Cōḻavaḷanāṭu.

The paḷḷiccantam lands which belonged to the Cūḷāmaṇivarmavihāram, as known from the Smaller Leyden Plates, amounted to approximately 475 *vēli* in extent and the amount of paddy to be supplied to the perumpaḷḷi was approximately 23 235 *kalam*.[296] Besides, it was assured of the supply of a substantial amount of monetary income to be collected in the form of levies from the residents of the villages. The details relating to this amount are not recorded in the text of the inscription, which only mentions the names of miscellaneous items from which dues could be collected. Finally, it would appear that the multiplication of the units of paḷḷiccantam since the days of Irācarācaṉ was on account of the grants made by his successors to the perumpaḷḷi at Nākapaṭṭiṉam.

## 5.3.2. The Bronzes of Nākapaṭṭiṉam

### 5.3.2.1. Introduction

A number of Buddhist bronzes from Nākapaṭṭiṉam which have attracted attention in modern times are deposited in museums in India and abroad. Many of these are preserved in the Colombo Museum. A few others are in private collections while others, which came to the attention of scholars in the late 19th century, seem to have been lost. A systematic study of these items, which could throw some light on the Buddhist establishments of the locality, remains to be undertaken.

Bronzes, which were discovered in the course of excavations carried out in connection with the foundation of Jesuit institutions, have been described by

[296] The *kalam* was the largest unit of liquid and grain measure. The details relating to this system of measurement are as follows:
2 *cēviṭu*-1 *piṭi*
5 *cēviṭu*-1 *āḷakku*
2 *āḷakku*-1 *uḷakku*
2 *uḷakku*-1 *uri*
2 *uri*-1 *nāḻi*
8 *nāḻi*-1 *kuruṇi*
2 *kuruṇi*-1 *patakku*
2 *patakku*-1 *tūṇi* or *kaṭi*
3 *tuni*-1 *kalam*. Vide Sastri, *The Cōḻas* 2, pt. 1, p. 461.

Foucaux and Sir Walter Elliot. Commenting on the discovery of one of these items Sir Walter Elliot observes,

"The Fathers were not slow to avail themselves of this permission." The venerable building was speedily levelled, and the site cleared. Some time afterwards, when Lord Napier visited Negapatam, they presented him with the bronze image... which had been found in making excavations connected with the college. It represents a Buddhist or Caiṉa priest in the costume and attitude of the figures in wood and metal brought from Burma. On clearing the pedestal some ancient Tamiḻ characters were discovered, occupying the greater part of the front and right sides. These have been deciphered by Dr. Burnell who writes, "The inscription is Tamiḻ of the 12th century, or perhaps the beginning of the 13th. It runs *svasti srī* [This] *āgama paṇḍita* [dedicated] *uyyakoṇḍa nayak*."[297]

The bronze illustrated by Sir Walter Elliot has only a superficial resemblance to the images of a puttar from Burma. Stylistically it is of the same class as the images of a puttar found in different parts of Tamiḻakam and may be considered representative of a local school of bronze casting that flourished during the period of Cōḻa supremacy. One of the hands is in the *abhaya mudrā* and the figure is depicted in the *sthānaka* pose. It is not an image of a Buddhist or Jain priest as suggested by Sir Walter Elliot, but that of a puttar. In anatomical details the image has a striking resemblance to the usual representations of a puttar in stone and metal.

An examination of the facsimile of the inscription illustrated by Sir Walter Elliot suggests that the text as deciphered by Dr. Burnell has to be revised. He has ignored the representations of the alveolar at the end of the second and last words of the text. So the correct version runs *svasti śrī āgama paṇṭitaṉ uyyakoṇṭa nāykaṉ*. The expressions *āgama panṭitaṉ* and *uyyakoṇṭa nāyakaṉ* meaning respectively "the one who is well versed in the *ākamam*", and "the one (Lord) who provides relief to all (who seek refuge)" may be considered as epithets and not as personal names. As epithets they are common to the religious traditions that flourished in the Tamiḻ country in mediaeval times. For instance, *cakalākama* paṇṭitar, "the one who is well versed in all the *ākamam*", was an epithet of Meykaṇṭatēvar, the author of *civañānapōtam*. The puttar is described with expressions such as *maṟaiyāli payantōy nī*, "you are the teacher of teachers", in some verses from the Buddhist texts quoted by Peruntēvaṉār in his commentary on the *vīracōḻiyam*.[298] So there is clear evidence from the tradition to show that a puttar was considered as the fountain of knowledge just as God was in the Caiva -Vaiṇava traditions.

That the expression *uyyakoṇṭāṉ* meaning "the one who provided relief (to those who sought refuge)" could be an epithet of a puttar is suggested by similar references in some verses quoted by Peruntēvaṉār. In one instance, the expression *urumēvi avataritta vuyiraṉaittum uyakkoḷvān*, "the one who pro-

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[297] Elliot, "The Edifice..., p. 225.

[298] [peruntēvaṉār], *ponpaṟṟi kāvalar puttamittiraṉār iyaṟṟiya vīracōḻiyam peruntēvaṉār* 1970, pa. 115.

vides relief to all those who have assumed form as living beings" is applied to him.[299] In another context the expressions *ōtaneṭuṅkaṭal valaiyattuyirkaḷ—aṉaittum uyyakkoḷvāṉ*,[300] "the one who provides relief to all beings living in this world surrounded by the vast ocean resounding with waves" are found in a description of a puttar. It would thus appear that those who fashioned the image on which this inscription is found were applying, to a puttar, epithets which were found in the Buddhist tradition in mediaeval Tamiḻ society.

That *uyyakoṇṭāṉ* was an epithet of the Cōḻa King Rājarāja I (985–1016) is suggested by the fact that it occurs in a slightly modified form as the initial component of the name of one of the provinces of Cōḻamaṇṭalam, namely *uyyakoṇṭār vaḷanāṭu*.[301] The fact that it was an epithet of God Civaṉ is suggested by *uyyakoṇṭāṉ tirumalai*, an alternate name for the Śaiva shrine called Kaṟkuṭi located at Rājāśraya Caturvētimaṅkalam in Pāṇṭiyakulācani vaḷanāṭu.[302]

Earlier, in 1856, six images of a puttar were found buried beneath the stump of a tree in the vicinity of the tower at Nākapaṭṭiṉam. In his account of these images Sir Walter Elliot said,

"The circumstances under which the images were discovered are stated in the following extract from a record made at the time: "Not far from this tower is an old Mohwa tree (Bassia latifolia) the diameter of which above the root is more than a metre indicating according to the usual growth of the tree, an age of 700 to 800 years.

In March 1856 the missionaries having cut down the tree for the requirements of their work of construction, discovered five small Buddhist idols at a depth of somewhat more than a yard below the surface. From the position in which they were found they appear to have been concealed, with a view of being again used in religious worship, for they were carefully placed in a chamber under a covering of bricks arranged for their protection. Four of the idols are of bronze, the fifth of a mixture of porcelain and clay, of exquisite workmanship".[303]

The bronzes described by Sir Walter Elliot are among the priceless antiquities of Nākapaṭṭiṉam which have been lost to posterity. To M Ph Ed Foucaux, the Professor of Sanskrit at the Collge of France, belongs the credit for having passed on to the world of scholarship the information about them in his paper, "Le Bouddha Sakyamouni".[304]

### 5.3.2.2. An Inscription from a Bronze puttar Image

The Cūḷamaṇivarmavihāram at Nākapaṭṭiṉam was established on the initiative of the kings of Sri Vijaya. The construction work, which commenced in the reign of the Cōḻa King Rājarāja I (985 -1016), was completed in the reign of

[299] Ibid., pa 142, 159.
[300] Ibid., p. 159.
[301] Sastri, *The Cōḻas* 2, pt 2, p. 685.
[302] Ibid., p. 557, 603.
[303] Elliot, "The Edifice…", p. 226.
[304] Foucaux, "Le Bouddha Sakyamouni", Quoted by Elliot, "The Edifice…", p. 226.

his son and successor Rājendra I (1012–1044). This institution was also known as Rājarājapperumpaḷḷi. It was endowed with lands by Rājarāja and the charter recording the land grant was issued by Rājendra. The establishment of the Rājendra Cōḻapperumpaḷḷi in the subsequent period represented a decisive stage in the further development of the monastic complex at Nākapaṭṭiṉam. The two institutions are referred to in the copper plate charter issued by Kulōttuṅka I (1070–1122). Some aspects of the history of the monastic complex at Nākapaṭṭiṉam have been discussed elsewhere, on the basis of the information recorded in the Cōḻa copper-plate inscriptions found at the Leyden Museum.[305]

A large number of puttar images in bronze have been unearthed at the site of the monastic complex, especially during the years 1856, 1926 and 1934.[306] These bronzes, some of which contain inscribed labels on their pedestals, are of considerable significance on account of their quality as works of art and as sources of historical information. A bronze puttar from Nākapaṭṭiṉam is one of the priceless antiquities in the collection of Asian art belonging to Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller III. When this collection was exhibited at the Idemitsu Museum of Arts in Tokyo, in October 1992, Professor Noboru Karashima of the University of Tokyo and his associates recognized Tamiḻ letters on the pedestal of a puttar image from Nākapaṭṭiṉam. Several photographs of the inscription were taken by them.

Noboru Karashima and Ellavan Cupparayalu deciphered the inscription and their report on its contents was published in an issue of the Journal of East-West Maritime Relations.[307]

They focussed attention on the unusual significance of this inscription for the understanding of some facets of the Buddhist monastic establishments at Nākapaṭṭiṉam, which had hitherto remained unknown. The inscription on the pedestal of the image, written in two lines in Grantha and Tamiḻ characters of the 11th century, consists of three sentences. The text, which is entirely in Tamiḻ, contains a brief description of a puttar image on a lotus pedestal.

The text of the inscription as deciphered and translated by Karashima and Subbarayalu runs,

Tamiḻ text

(1) *irājē ndracōḻa- perumpaḷḷi akkacālaip perumpaḷḷi āḻvār kōyilukku tiruvutsavam eḻuntaruḷa āḻvār ivvāḻvārai eḻuntaruḷuvittār ciṟutavūr nālāṅkuṇākara uḍaiyār.*

(2) *svasti srī patineṇ vishayattukkum akkasālaikaḷ nāyakar.*

Translation

(1) "(This is) the āḻvār for a festival procession of the temple of Ak-

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[305] Pathmanathan, "The Cūḷamaṇivarmavihāram of Nākapaṭṭiṉam". Vide section 5. 3. 1. 2. in this volume.

[306] Ramachandran, *The Nagappattiṉam* ...

[307] Noboru, Subbarayalu, "An Inscription…", pp. 13–18.

kasālaip-perumpaḷḷi in RājendraCōḻaperumpaḷḷi. This āḻvār was set up by Nālāṅkuṇākara uṭaiyār of Cirutavūr".

(2) "Let it be auspicious! (This āḻvār called) akkasālaikaḷ nāyakar is for all the padineṇ-viśayam".[308]

The decipherment of the text by Noboru Karashima and E Subbarayalu is faultless. However, their translation and interpretation of the second and third sentences of the text do not seem to reflect adequately the true significance of the expressions occurring in them. The archaic and obsolete words and concepts found in the text pertain to institutions and practices which disappeared long ago. They are not easily intelligible even to specialists and cannot be interpreted solely with the aid of lexicography. Besides, the brevity of the text by itself could be a cause of ambiguity. Therefore a critical examination of these items in considerable detail has to be undertaken, especially on account of the unusual significance of the contents of this monument for understanding some elements of the forgotten aspects of South Indian history and culture.

In the text there are references to eight important items, namely
*(1) irājēndracōḻapperumpaḷḷi*
*(2) akkacālaipperumpaḷḷi*
*(3) āḻvār kōyil*
*(4) āḻvār*
*(5) utsavam*
*(6) nālāṅkuṇākara uṭaiyār*
*(7) patineṇ viṣaiyam, and*
*(8) akkacālaikaḷ nāyakar*

An elucidation of all these expressions is necessary to arrive at a correct understanding of the text. In such an exercise one has to err on the side of caution as some of the words found in the epigraph could be explained in different ways. For instance each of the three words, āḻvār, uṭaiyār and nāyakar have a variety of meanings. The fact that they could be construed as synonyms could create confusion. These words can only be explained properly with the aid of authentic epigraphical glossaries and on the basis of usages and tradition.

The word āḻvār occurs in three places in the text. In two places the bronze image of a puttar is referred to as āḻvār. In one place the word is combined with kōyil to form the compound expression āḻvār kōyil which means "the temple of the āḻvār". As the inscription refers to the image as āḻvār and describes a temple attached to a perumpaḷḷi (monastery) as āḻvār kōyil, it is clear that the word āḻvār is applied in the text as a designation of a puttar. In epigra-

[308] They have been persuaded to assume that the last sentence in the text is a description of the āḻvār (puttar). It may, however, be construed as denoting one who held the position of being an agent of the patineṇviṣaiyam, although the word nāyakar would seem to have been applied as a designation of the Puttar in certain other instances.

phy the two forms āḷvār and āḻvār are used interchangeably. The form āḷvār is found in two 12th century Tamiḻ inscriptions in Ilaṅkai.[309] An image of a puttar is described as vērattāḷvār in an inscription from Poloṉṉaṟuvai while another one from Māṅkaṉāy in the Trincomalee district refers to the āḷvār of veyka vēram.

The principal connotations of the word āḻvār are god, gods, supreme devotees, religious teachers and persons of great eminence. As a term of description it could be applied to those who, through their charismatic qualities, attracted and brought men and women under their sway and influence. The twelve principal leaders of the movement of devotional theism in South Indian Vaiṇavam are generally referred to as āḻvār. The term means or refers allegedly to the following: 1."One who is in deep meditation on the attributes of the Supreme Being", 2. the ten Vaiṇava canonised saints, and 3. the title of Buddhist and Caiṉa saints. In avirōtiyāḻvār and maittiriyāḻvār it is combined with words which have a Buddhist significance.[310] It is significant that the inscription concerned refers to a puttar as āḻvār. Here, an expression found in the local Vaiṇava tradition is applied to designate a puttar.

In the epigraph it is stated that the image of a puttar was to be taken on festival procession(s) at the temple of a puttar (āḻvār kōyil). The expressions *utsavam*, "festival", *eḻuntaruḷ(i)* and kōyil are also significant as providing an indication of the extent to which the terminology found in the local Caiva and Vaiṇava tradition had been adopted to describe Buddhist practices and institutions at Nākapaṭṭiṉam. It would seem that the Caiva and Vaiṇava influence on Buddhism was not merely confined to the adoption of terminology but also extended to the realm of ideas and practices. This matter can only be clarified on the basis of further investigation in the future.

The āḻvār kōyil attached to the *akkacālaipperumpaḷḷi* may be considered as an image house or *pratimāghara*.[311] The fact that an institution called *akkacālaip-perumpaḷḷi* was found at Nākapaṭṭiṉam is known exclusively from this inscription. As the inscription could be assigned to the late 11th century on paleographical considerations, it may be assumed that it was established in the 11th century. The expressions rājendracōḻapperumpaḷḷi akkacālaipperumpaḷḷi suggest that the akkacālaipperumpaḷḷi was affiliated to the rājendracōḻapperumpaḷḷi as one of its component units. The name akkacālaipperumpaḷḷi is significant as providing some indication of the interaction between a community of people associated with the akkacālai and the monastic institutions at Nākapaṭṭiṉam.

In the Tamiḻ tradition the word akkacālai has two distinct connotations: it

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[309] Bell, *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Annual Report for 1909*, p. 27. Kanapathypillai, "Mankanai Inscription of Gajabāhu II", pp. 12–14.

[310] *TL 1*, p. 253.

[311] There was a temple called *akkacalai-īśvaram* in the coastal town of Koṟkai in the Pāṇṭiya Kingdom. *akkacālai-īśvaram uṭaiyār* of Koṟkai was, according to an inscription of the time of Kulottuṅga I (1070–1122), located at Koṟkai otherwise called *maturāntakanallūr* of *kuṭa-nāṭu* in *uttamacōḻa vaḷanāṭu*.

means a "mint" or an "artisan manufactory".[312] It may also be noted here that the streets occupied by the artisan communities in some towns are described as akkacālaipperuntēru in inscriptions. The akkacālaipperumpaḷḷi at Nākapaṭṭiṉam seems to have been established and supported by artisans engaged in metal craft production, and named after them chiefly on that account.[313]

The second sentence in the epigraph, which runs *ivvāḻvārai eḻuntaruḻuvittār ciṟutavūr nālāṅkuṇākara uṭaiyār,* seems to provide some useful hints about some aspects of monastic organisation at Nākapaṭṭiṉam. It describes the performance of a solemn act in relation to a puttar image by a person called Ciṟutavūr Nālāṅkuṇākara uṭaiyār. This person was presumably from the locality called Ciṟutavūr and, as suggested by the description, a person of eminence and some consequence.

The compound expression *nālāṅkuṇākara uṭaiyār* could be split up into three words: *nālām*, *kuṇākara*(*r*) and *uṭaiyār*. The word *nālām*, meaning "the fourth", is an adjectival form qualifying the nominal form *kuṇākara*(*r*).[314] The word *uṭaiyār*, which is suffixed to the name *kuṇākara*(*r*) in this text, has a variety of connotations. It means "owner", "lord", "god", "king", "prince", "chief" or a "venerable" or "respectable person".[315] The presiding deity at all temples dedicated for the worship of Civaṉ is consistently referred to as *uṭaiyār* in Cōḻa and other South Indian inscriptions. It was also used as a royal epithet in Kaṉṉaṭam and Tamiḻnāṭu.[316] *uṭaiyār* was also the designation of local chieftains in the Tamiḻ country. However, the precise meaning of the word as found in the epigraph under consideration can only be understood if the significance of the compound expression *nālāṅkuṇākara*(*r*) is clarified.

In the case of *nālāṅkuṇākara*(*r*) of Ciṟutavūr the expression *uṭaiyār* does not seem to have been applied as a designation of rank. He is not described as the *uṭaiyār* of Ciṟutavūr. It may therefore be considered as an honorific having the same significance as the word *svāmi*. Such an assumption presupposes that *kuṇākara*(*r*) was a venerable person, a religious dignitary. As the expression *nālām* meaning "the fourth" is prefixed to *kuṇākaraṟ*, the expression *kuṇākaraṟ* may be considered as a designation of rank in the monastic order. So Kuṇakāra IV may be identified as a monk who was the fourth in order of pupillary succession to attain that rank. Such an impression suggests the possibility that the order of monks of which Kuṇākara IV was the head had existed

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[312] The expression as found in Tamiḻ texts has two meaningś "metal works" and"mint". *TL* 1, p. 2.

[313] The same could be said also of the Śaiva shrine *akkacālai-īśvaram* at Koṟkai in the Tirunēlvēli district of the Madras Presidency in British India.

[314] *kuṇākara*(*r*) is the Tamiḻ form of the Sanskrit-Prakrit word *guṇākara*, which is formed by combining the two words *guṇa* and *ākara*. It means "the repository of virtue".

[315] "Lord", "master", "*cuvāmi*", and "the headman of a village" are said to be the meanings of this word. *TL* 1, p. 401.

[316] In the Cōḻa inscriptions the epithet *uṭaiyār* is prefixed to the names of the kings of the lineage of Vijayālaya until the accession of Kulottuṅga I (1070–1122). In the Tamiḻ inscriptions of the Vijayanagara period the expression *uṭaiyār* is suffixed to the names of kings, princes and dignitaries, in the form of an honorific appellation.

in Nākapaṭṭiṉam and its neighbourhood for four generations by the time this monument was set up. This interpretation is consistent with historical information pertaining to the origins and development of the monastic complex at Nākapaṭṭiṉam.[317] It is probable that the akkacālaipperumpaḷḷi was occupied and administered by the order of monks of which he was the head. It is presumably in that capacity that Kuṇākara IV had a puttar image ceremonially installed at the āḻvār kōyil attached to the akkacālaipperumpaḷḷi.

The third sentence in the text runs *svasti srī patiṉeṇ viṣayattukkum akkacālaikaḷ nāyakar*. In this sentence a relationship between a group or community called *patiṉeṇviṣaiyam* and a person who had the designation *akkacālaikaḷ nāyakar* is indicated.

"Lord", "master", "husband", "king", "supreme Being", "leader" and "conductor" are among the several connotations of the word *nāyakaṉ*. *nāyakar* could be a singular honorific form of *nāyakaṉ*. The interpretation that the combined expression *akkacālaikaḷ nāyakar* is a description of puttar (as āḻvār) does not seem to be tenable. akkacālaip perumpaḷḷi āḻvār and akkacālaikaḷ nāyakar do not appear to have the same connotations. The word *nāyakar* when combined with *akkacālaikaḷ* conveys the meaning "superintendent" or "conductor". This impression is confirmed by the association of the akkacālaikaḷ with a mercantile community. The close association of metal workers with merchant guilds is well attested by historical evidence. They were also sometimes incorporated into the merchant guilds, as is evident from the Vaiśāli seals and some of the inscriptions of the Aiññūṟṟvar (Ayyāvoḷe) in India and Ilaṅkai.

All the Tamiḻ scholars whom the present author consulted understood these expressions in the manner in which they are explained here. The unlikelihood of the āḻvār of the āḻvār kōyil attached to the akkacālaipperumpaḷḷi being referred to in a text intended to describe a standing image of a puttar, which was donated for the purpose of being taken on festival processions, is an important consideration in our explanation of the expressions concerned. If the formulators of the inscription had intended to describe a puttar in the concluding sentence, one would expect them to have used the expression āḻvār, which occurs in three places in the text as a designation of a puttar. In the light of the foregoing considerations the last sentence of the epigraph translates as "Hail prosperity! The prefect of the artisan manufactories" for "the merchants of the eighteen countries".[318]

The *patiṉeṇviṣaiyam* was the designation of a leading merchant guild in mediaeval South India. It was synonymous with *patiṉeṇpūmi*, an appellation of the nānātēci, who are sometimes referred to also as the aññūṟṟuvar "of the

[317] As the Cūḷamaṇivarmavihāram had its origins in the reign of Rājarāja I (985–1016), the monastic orders occupying the monasteries affiliated to it could not have had an association with this particular monastic complex for a period exceeding a hundred years.

[318] The present author consultated on this point paṇṭitar Kā Ce Naṭarācaṉ, vittuvāṉ Kā Na Vēlaṉ, Srīmati Vacantā Vaittiyanātaṉ formerly of the *tarumai ātiṉam*, Ka Arunācalam, Senior Lecturer in Tamiḻ, and Ci Tillainātaṉ (S. Thillainathan), Professor of Tamiḻ at the University of Peradeniya.

thousand directions".[319] It is therefore clear that the aññūṟṟuvar were established in a commercial sector of Nākapaṭṭiṉam and that they had entered into an abiding relationship with the monastic establishment in that town. Such an impression is further confirmed by an elucidation of the concluding expressions of the epigraph, akkacālaikaḷ nāyakar.

The word *nāyakar* also has many connotations. In the Śaiva tradition it is applied to God. In Buddhism it is applied to designate the rank of one who holds a position of leadership and authority in the monastic organisation.[320] It was also a designation of rank in military and political organisations. "Chief", "leader"and "superintendent" are also some of the connotations of this word. When the expression *nāyakar* is combined with the word *akkacālaikaḷ*, meaning "artisan manufactories", it cannot denote "god" or a rank in the hierarchy of monastic organisation. So the appropriate explanation of the combined expression *akkacālaikaḷ nāyakar* is that it denotes a "prefect" or "superintendent" of artisan manufactories.[321] Such a person may therefore be recognised as an agent or functionary of the mercantile community. This interpretation inevitably leads to the conclusion that the artisan manufactories were functioning under the direction and patronage of the merchants.

Our explanation of the relationship between the merchants and artisans as indicated in the present inscription is supported by a consideration of relevant information found in the inscriptions of the merchant guilds of India and Ilaṅkai. That the artisan communities were incorporated into the guilds (*nigama*) of merchant communities in North India during the period of the Imperial Guptas is evident from the inscriptions on the Vaiśāli seals of the 5th century AD.[322] In the inscriptional preambles of the mediaeval South Indian merchant guilds, artisans are listed among the communities associated with the mercantile communities. Some sectors of the *nakaram* towns administed by the mercantile communities were occupied by artisan communities.[323] It may also be noted here that the co-ordination and direction of craft production in a *nakaram* town by the governing body of the *nakaram* is suggested by the

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[319] That the *nāṉātēci* were otherwise called *aññūṟṟuvar* is attested by their inscriptions found in Sri Laṅkā. The epigraph from Vihārehinna contains a reference to the *nāṉātēcit-ticai-āyirattaññūṟṟuvar*, "the *nāṉatēçi* otherwise called the *aññūṟṟuvar* of the thousand directions". It is significant that *patiṉenpūmi* is consistently applied as a qualifying expression in the description of the *nāṉātēci* otherwise called *aññūṟṟuvar*. The expressions *patiṉenpumit-tēcit-ticai-āyirattaññūṟṟuvar* are found in inscriptions from Poloṉṉaṟuvai, Pataviyā, Vākalkaṭavai and Vihārehinna. Vide CTI 1, pp. 53–56 and CTI 2, p. 12.

[320] In this connexion, similar expressions such as *vaṉṉiyarmakkaḷ nāyaṉ*, "the chief of the community of people called vaṉṉiyar", and *tēvāranāyakam*, "the one who conducts the recital of *tēvāram* hymns" are significant as providing some useful hints about the connotations of the relevant expression.

[321] Pathmanathan, "The Bronze seal…", pp. 139–150.

[322] For instance, an inscription of the time of Rājarāja I from Chidambaram refers to the carpenters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths and leather workers as "the people of the *nakaram* of Kuṇamēnaṅkaipuram". The artisan communities were reckoned as *kīḻkkalanaikal*, "residents subject to the authority of the dominant group (merchants) administering the *nakaram*". Vide Hall, *Trade …*, p. 52.

[323] Pathmanathan, "The Nagaram …, p. 145.

reference to *akkacālai vikkiramātittaṉ* in an inscription of the *nānātēci* from Vākalkaṭavai (Vahalkada) in Ilaṅkai.[19]

In the light of the foregoing considerations, it may be inferred that the institution called *akkacālaip*perumpaḷḷi was established and supported by artisan communities associated with the *aññūṟṟuvar* established at Nākapaṭṭiṉam. There are instances where some religious institutions in market towns in Ilaṅkai dominated by merchant guilds were named after military communities affiliated to them. The Temple of the Tooth Relic at Poloṉṉaṟuvai was named after the *vēḷaikkāṟar,* in the service of a *nakaram* of the *valañciyar* during the early part of the 12th century.[324] At Makal, otherwise known as *vikkiramacalāmēkapuram*, a *nakaram* was set up by the *aññūṟṟuvar*, and there was a Buddhist institution called *aññūṟṟuvaṉpaḷḷi*. The shrine of the Goddess Paramēśvarī at the same locality was named after a military community called *vīramākāḷam*, which was associated with the merchant guild.[325] The inscription on the pedestal of the bronze image from Nākapaṭṭiṉam is the only epigraphic record among those brought to light hitherto which contains a reference to a Buddhist institution in the Tamiḻ country and which was named after artisan communities associated with a mercantile community. The ideas that have emerged from the present investigation suggest that there was a *nakaram* encompassing a marketing area of Nākapaṭṭiṉam which was dominated by the *aññūṟṟuvar*. It may be inferred that this particular mercantile community had negotiated and obtained for itself a major share in the supply of local and foreign commodities to the monastic establishments of Nākapaṭṭiṉam.

Returning to the connotations of the expressions in the last sentence of the epigraph, it may be suggested that the expressions that read *patineṇviṣaiyattukkum akkacālaikaḷ nāyakar* translate as "The prefect of the artisan manufactories for the (entire) *patiṉeṇviṣaiyam*". The form *patiṉeṇviṣaiyattukkum* seems to suggest the corporate character of the mercantile community concerned. It would seem that this bronze was made on the instruction of "the prefect of the artisan manufactories" and donated by him. A further point that emerges from the present discussion is the possibility that the person described in the final portion of the text was a master craftsman.

It is noteworthy that most of the epigraphic records left behind by the merchant guilds at their commercial outposts are donative inscriptions recording their benefactions to religious foundations. There were many instances where images were donated by merchant guilds. Two miniature bronze images of the mother goddess, brought to light by archaeological excavations at Padaviya and the Jetavanarama complex, Anurādhapura, are among the most recent finds pertaining to the activities of the *nāṉātēci*. The expression *nāṉātēci*, found inscribed in the form of a label on the pedestal of both these bronzes, suggests that they were donated by members of that corporate mercantile com-

[324] Ibid., pp. 136–140.
[325] Pathmanathan, "The Tamiḻ Slab Inscription …", pp. 15–30.

munity.[326] It is also significant that one of the inscriptions set up by the *nakaram* of a*yyyampoḷil paṭṭiṉam* at Pataviyā (Padaviya) in Ilaṅka contains the expressions *vikkirakañ ceytu kuṭuttōm*, "we made images and donated them".[327]

Finally, the characteristics of the image on the inscribed pedestal may be briefly noticed here. The standing image of a puttar rests on a *padmapīṭha*, "lotus pedestal", of exquisite design and is 68 cm in height. The hands are in the *abhaya*, assurance of protection, and *varada*, gift-giving poses.[328] The earlobes are elongated as is usual for puttar images, and the *uṣṇīṣa*, the crest on the lock of hair of the head, is prominently depicted. The eyes are half closed and the face exhibits an attitude of contemplation. The body is slim and the limbs are proportionately balanced. On the whole this bronze exhibits all the basic characteristics of Cōḻa metal sculpture of the highest quality. The diaphanous character of the robes, which are pleated on either side of the body and through which the limbs can be seen, reflects the high standard of technical skill attained by the craftsmen who produced it.

In conclusion, it may be stated that the bronze puttar image found in the collection of antiquities belonging to the family of John Rockefeller III is of a unique character, both as a work of art and as a historical monument. The inscription on its pedestal is of the utmost importance among the historical records relating to the Buddhist monastic complex at Nākapaṭṭiṉam. It records vital information not found elsewhere. It highlights the fact that an institution called *akkacālaip*perumpaḷḷi was established at some time during the 11th century. That it was founded and supported by artisan communities associated with a mercantile community described figuratively as "those of the eighteen countries", and named after them is clear from the scrutiny of the text. This institution which functioned as a unit of the irājēndracōḻapperumpaḷḷi had a shrine called āḻvār kōyil attached to it, where festivals were conducted at which images were taken in procession.

An examination of the text of the inscription suggests that the bronze image concerned was caused to be made and donated by a master craftsman or "the prefect of artisan manufactories" serving as a functionary of a merchant guild established at Nākapaṭṭiṉam. It was donated for the purpose of being taken on festival processions. It would seem that the image which was donated to the temple was ceremonially installed by a religious dignitary called Kuṇākara IV of Ciṟutavūr. He was probably the head of the monastic order which occupied the akkacālaipperumpaḷḷi and administered the shrine (āḻvār kōyil) attached to it.

In the light of the present study the text of the inscription may be split up into three sentences and translated in the following order:

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[326] Pathmanathan, "The Nagaram...", pp. 126–127.
[327] CTI 2, pp. 19–20.
[328] Noboru, Subbarayalu, "An Inscription …", pp. 13–18.

Text

1. *irājēndracōḻapperumpaḷḷi akkacālaip perumpaḷḷi āḻvār kōyilukku (tiruvu) tsavam eḻuntaruḷa āḻvār.*
2. *ivvāḻvārai eḻuntaruḷuvittār ciṟutavūr nālāṅkuṇākara uṭaiyār.*
3. *svasti srī. patineṇviṣaiyattukkum akkasālaikaḷ nāyakar.*

Translation

1. "This image of the Lord (puttar) is for festival procession(s) at the temple of the Lord (puttar) attached to the akkacālaip perumpaḷḷi of irājēndracōḻapperumpaḷḷi".
2. "This image of the Lord (puttar) has been installed by the venerable Kuṇākara IV of Ciṟutavūr".
3. "Hail Prosperity!. "The prefect of artisan manufactories" for "the merchants of the eigteen countries".

### 5.3.2.3. The Inscriptions on the Pedestal of the South Indian Bronzes. A Re-examination.

#### *5.3.2.3.1. Introduction*

The growth of the monastic establishments at Nākapaṭṭiṉam in the subsequent period is suggested by the establishment of another monastery, rājendracōḻapperumpaḷḷi, which is referred to in the Smaller Leyden Plates issued in the reign of Kulottunga I (1070–1122).[329] When these plates were issued in the 20th year of this monarch's reign (1090 AD), there were nine paḷḷiccantam units attached to the monastic establishments of Nākapaṭṭiṉam. These were spread out in three sub-divisions of cōḻamaṇṭalam.[330]

The fact that there was an institution called akkacālaipperumpaḷḷi attached to the rājendracōḻapperumpaḷḷi is recorded in an epigraph engraved on the pedestal of a bronze image, which has been recently deciphered, translated and published by Noboru Karashima and Y. Subbarayalu.[331]

The institution called akkacālaipperumpaḷḷi was apparently named after artisan communities affiliated to the mercantile community called *patiṉeṇviṣaiyam*, and it would appear that they had an abiding concern for its maintenance. It is now evident that the monastic institutions of Nākapaṭṭiṉam were supported by sections of the local population, in particular the mercantile and artisan communities. The origin and development of these institutions during the peak period of commercial activity in Nākapaṭṭiṉam in mediaeval times presupposes that commercial prosperity had provided an impetus for the growth of the Buddhist establishments in the town.

It would appear that the Buddhist institutions in Nākapaṭṭiṉam attracted the

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329 Subramanya Aiyer, "The Smaller Leyden Plates", pp. 267–281.

330 These were to be found in the divisions of Gēyamāṇikka vaḷanāṭu, Jayaṅkoṇṭacōḻa vaḷanāṭu and Vijayarājendra cōḻa vaḷanāṭu.

331 Noboru, Subbarayalu, "An Inscription…", pp. 13–18.

attention of the Chinese from the 13th century. The Chinese document *A Sketch of Foreign Islands* states that there was a Chinese inscription set up in the 3rd year of the Chinese Emperor Hien Chw'en (1267) in the vicinity of the *stūpa*, which was found to be a tall tower of brick masonry.[332] The Kalyāṇi inscriptions of the Burmese King Dhammaceti (1467 AD) mention that there was, on the sea shore, at Nākapaṭṭiṉam, a grotto constructed at the command of the Chinese emperor.[333] These references, presumably, inspired the belief entertained by Europeans in the subsequent centuries that the "Tower" of Nākapaṭṭiṉam was a Chinese pagoda.

The reference to Nākapaṭṭiṉam found in the Kalyāṇi inscriptions contains the information that there was a monastery called *padarīkārāma*. A party of Burmese monks led by Citradūta, who had been shipwrecked off the coast of Colombo, are said to have visited the site of the Padarīkārāma in Nākapaṭṭiṉam and worshipped the image of a puttar in a grotto constructed at the behest of the Chinese emperor, during the course of their return journey to Burma.[334]

The large number of bronzes unearthed at sites in and around Nākapaṭṭiṉam, especially during the years 1856, 1926 and 1934, are of the utmost importance as works of art and as sources of historical information pertaining to Buddhist practices and monastic organisation in the Tamiḻ country during the period of Cōḻa dynastic hegemony. Approximately 350 monuments were discovered and these are remarkable on account of their variety, peculiarities of iconographic details and the historical information recorded in the inscriptions on their pedestals. These monuments are broadly of two categories: representations of a puttar and votive stupas. The puttar is represented in a variety of poses. There are also representations of Avalokiteśvara, Maitreya, Lokeśvara, Jambhala, Vasudharā and Tārā. As works of art they are not of a uniform quality. Some are crude imitations of other models while others are of average quality as works of art. Yet, there are some which exhibit the highest qualities of Cōḻa metal sculpture and have a close resemblance to the local Caiva and Vaiṇava bronzes in their finish and technical characteristics. A descriptive catalogue of these monuments prepared by Irāmacāṇṭiraṉ has been published as one of the issues of the Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum.[335]

Some of these bronzes contain brief Tamiḻ inscriptions on their pedestals engraved in characters of the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries. The texts of these inscriptions, the chronological sequence of which has not yet been determined, are broadly of four categories. The first of these categories consists of terse descriptions which can be recognised as epithets of a puttar. In the second category are the inscriptions which record the setting up of the images of a

[332] Ramachandran, "The Nagapattinam…", p. 14.
[333] Ibid., p. 18.
[334] Loc. cit.
[335] Ramachandran, "The Nagapattinam...",

puttar by monks or nuns who held positions of rank in the monastic orders. The third category consists of texts which record the donations made by lay devotees. The longest of these inscriptions, the one found on the pedestal of the bronze in the collection of John D. Rockefeller III, is unique because it contains a brief description of the member of a monastic order, who set up the image, and of the individual who made the donation. An imaginative understanding of the text of this epigraph provides useful hints for comprehending the key expressions found in the other inscriptions.

These inscriptions have been formulated very briefly, as long and descriptive texts cannot be engraved on the pedestals of images owing to lack of space. The texts, which are ambiguous on account of their brevity, are liable to alternate interpretations, each of which would appear to be plausible and convincing lexically, idiomatically and historically. Some of the texts are not intelligible as the expressions found in them have a variety of connotations. There is no consistency in the use of words for describing concepts and objects. In many instances, as will be seen subsequently, different words were applied to denote the same object, while in others, the same word is applied to denote different items. The institutions and practices referred to in these epigraphs disappeared long ago and the expressions which connoted them cannot be understood easily on the basis of modern usages. It should also be noted that some of the expressions found in these texts are colloquial forms which cannot be explained on the basis of modern lexicography.

### *5.3.2.3.2. Epithets of a puttar*

The most important expressions found in these inscriptions are:

*araicar*, *aṇṭaṉ*, *āḷvār*, *āṇṭān*, *āṇṭi*, *āṇṭāḷ*, *āḷvi*, *uṭaiyār*, *ulakanātaṉ*, *nampaṉ*, *nāyakar*, *nāyaṉmār*, *kuravar*, *māṇi*, and *tēvar*.

An elucidation of these expressions is essential for a proper understanding and interpretation of the inscriptions concerned. The word *aṇṭaṉ*, which occurs in one of these inscriptions, signifies God, as Lord of the Universe.[336] In Vaiṇava devotional literature in Tamiḻ it is applied as an epithet to Viṣṇu. The expressions *aṇṭā aṭiyēnukku aruḷ puriyāyē* which translate as "Oh Universal Lord! Will you not shower grace on me, your humble servant", are found in one of the hymns.[337] When the term *aṇṭaṉ* is applied as an epithet to a puttar it has to be construed as having the meaning, "the Universal Lord". It presupposes that notions of universality and immanence were associated with a puttar.

It is significant that the word *araicar*—see no 5 below—is applied to a

[336] *TL* 1, p. 59. The expression *nampāṇṭāṉ* could be split up into two words, *nampaṉ* and *āṇṭāṉ* which have the same meaning. God is referred to as *nampaṉ* in the *tēvaram*, *cīvakacintāmaṇi*, *kamparāmāyaṇam* and other texts. The expressions *nampaṉē eṅkaḷ kōvē*, *nampaṉē nāṉmaṟaikaḷ āyiṉāṉē*, *nampaṉē... ñāṉamūrtti*, *nampaṉai nāl vētaṅ kaṇṭāṉai* are found in *appar tēvaram*. The *cīvakacintmaṇi* and the *kamparāmāyanam* contain respectively the expressions *nampaṉ cellu nāḷilum* and *nampaṉ mātulan vemmaiyai naṉṉiṉāṉ*. Vide *appar perumān vāḻvum vākkum* 1980, pa. 88, 204, 271, 535, 742, 872; *TL* 4, p. 2154.

[337] *nālāyira tivviyap pirapantam*, 1950, p. 240, ceyyuḷ, 1038.

puttar in one instance. a*raicar*, which is formed by adding the plural or singular honorific termination *ar* to *araicu*, a colloquial variant of *aracu*, means "king", "supreme Lord" or "God".[338] There are numerous references in the *tēvāram*, *tiruvācakam* and the *tivviyappirapantam* where God, Civaṉ or Perumāḷ, are referred to as *aracu*.

The word *āḻvār*, which is found in four inscriptions (1, 29, 64, 69) on the pedestals of images, has a variety of connotations. In a strictly literal sense it means "one who is deep" (in meditation on the attributes of the Supreme Being). The principal exponents of the Vaiṇava movement of devotional theism in South India are generally referred to as āḻvār.[339] It was also used as a title of Jain and Buddhist monks. The Jain monk *avirōti-āḻvār* was the author of grammatical treatises in Tamiḻ. There are also literary references to a certain *maittiriyāḻvār*. "Lord", "master" and "God" are also some of the connotations of this word.[340] In the light of the foregoing considerations, either a puttar or a monk could be referred to as āḻvār. The expression āḻvār found in No. 69 is undoubtedly an epithet of a puttar. It would appear that in other cases it is applied as an honorific in connexion with monks.

The term *āṇṭāṉ* is synonymous with *āḻvār* and has the connotations "master", "possessor" and "God".[341] In the Caiva and Vaiṇava tradition it is applied to God or religious teachers of eminence, as in the case of the Vaiṇava *ācārya* known as *piḷḷai-āṇṭāṉ*. When applied to a puttar as an epithet it would mean "the Great Lord", or "The Supreme Lord", and it is precisely in that sense that it occurs in No. 49 (see below).

The word *āṇṭi*, which is found in a couple of inscriptions under consideration here, is generally defined as one which denotes a class of non-*brāhmaṇa* Śaiva s or mendicants.[342] It is also significant that this word occurs as an epithet of God or some deities. Murukaṉ is sometimes referred to as *paḻaṉi-āṇṭi*. *muṉi-āṇṭi* is one of the minor deities propitiated by some sections of the Caivar and Vaiṇavar in Tamiḻ society. So whenever the word *āṇṭi* occurs in records relating to Buddhism, it may be construed as an appellation of a Buddhist deity or a monk. The expression *kottāṇṭi-tēvar* (5) may be explained as the name of a Buddhist deity represented in iconography as one holding a twig of flowers (*kottu*). The existence of images with hands holding floral buds seems to support the plausibility of such an interpretation.

The word *uṭaiyār*, which is found in three inscriptions on the pedestals of puttar images, has a variety of connotations. According to modern lexicographers it means "owner", "lord", "god", "king", "prince", "chief" or a venerable person.[343] The presiding deity of all temples dedicated for the worship of Civaṉ is consistently referred to as *uṭaiyār* in inscriptions. It was also used as

[338] *TL* 1, p. 138.
[339] For the difference between *āḷvār* and *āḻvār* vide 6.14.10. of this volume.
[340] *TL* 1, p. 253.
[341] Ibid., p. 222.
[342] Ibid, p. 222
[343] Ibid., p. 401.

a royal epithet in Karnāṭakam and Tamiḻnāṭu. *uṭaiyār* was also a designation of local chieftains in South India. In texts pertaining to Buddhism *uṭaiyār* could be applied as a designation of a puttar. In such instances it may convey the meaning, "the Supreme Lord". It could also be applied to monks as an honorific or epithet signifying a title of rank in the monastic organisation. It is quite clear that in Nos. 2 and 69 it occurs as an epithet of monks. In the light of our explanation inscription No. 2, which reads *tāra(i)yar maṭam-uṭaiyāṉ,* would translate as "(the image of the Lord (puttar) set up by) the head of the Tārayar monastery".

The expression *uṭaiyār,* as found in inscription No. 69, may be recognised as an epithet of the dignitary called *kuṇākara(r)* IV of Ciṟutavūr (*ciṟutavūr nālām kuṇākara—uṭaiyār*), as explained elsewhere.[344] However, in another inscription (26) *uṭaiyār* occurs as an epithet of a puttar, and it may be understood as conveying the meaning, "The Supreme Lord". In this instance an expression which is generally applied in descriptions of God in the local Caiva and Vaiṇava tradition is applied to a puttar.

The word *nāyakar* is found in 42 of the 70 epigraphs listed here. It has many connotations. "Lord", "master", "chief", "husband", "king", "supreme Being", "God", "leader" and "conductor" are its principal meanings.[345] In Caiva and Vaiṇava literature it frequently occurs as an epithet of God. In Buddhism it is applied to designate the rank of one who holds a position of leadership and authority in a monastic organisation. It was also a designation of rank in military and political organisation. "Chief", "leader" and "superintendent" are some of the other connotations of this word.

In all the inscriptions listed here in which the word *nāyakar* occurs, with the single exception of No. 69, it appears to have a Buddhist connotation. It could designate a puttar or a member of a monastic order, who held a position of rank and authority. In certain instances it is quite clear that a puttar is referred to *as nāyakar,* whereas in others *nāyakar* occurs as the designation of a monk. But, in a majority of the epigraphs in which it occurs it is not clear whether *nāyakar* is the appellation of a puttar or a monk.

The word nāyaṉār, which occurs in three of the inscriptions listed here, means "Lord", "master", "leader" or "God".[346] A word which designates God or the leaders of a particular religious movement in the Śaiva tradition could be applied to designate a puttar or monks who held positions of authority in the monastic orders. The last expression in the epigraph, which reads *tuṟai āḻvi* nāyaṉār, could be recognised as an epithet of a puttar. The word appears to have a similar connotation in another inscription (63) which reads *pēypiḷḷai* nāyaṉār, "(the image of) the Lord set up by Pēypiḷḷai".

The expression *tēvar* occurs in four inscriptions found on the pedestals of puttar images. It means "gods" or "God". The word *tēvar* has the following

[344] Vide pp. 000 of this volume.
[345] *TL* 4, p. 2222.
[346] Ibid., p. 2223.

connotations: (1) "deities", "objects of worship", (2) "celestials of four classes", (3) "highly esteemed or eminent persons".[347] The presiding deity of the temple is often referred to as *tēvar* in many South Indian temple inscriptions. It is often found in the *tēvāram* and the *tivviyappirapantam* as an epithet of God. It was also suffixed as an honorific to the names of kings, princes and prominent dignitaries. Sometimes it forms part of a personal name. When the word *tēvar* occurs in records pertaining to Buddhism it may be recognised as a designation of a puttar. It may also be noted here that the expression *putta tēvar* is incorporated into the text of an inscription found in Ilaṅkai.[348] It is significant that the expression *putta tēvar* occurs in the commentary on the *nīlakēci*.[349]

Another expression which provides some hints about the conceptions of a puttar as found in South India and specifically at Nākapaṭṭiṉam is *pirāṉ*. The word is found in the texts of two inscriptions. "Lord", "King", "Chief", "master", "leader" and "God" are the connotations of *pirāṉ*.[350] In the Caiva and Vaiṇava literature in Tamiḻ God is frequently referred to as *pirāṉ*.[351] As an epithet it seems to signify incomparable or immeasurable greatness. As it was used also as an epithet in connexion with some of the āḻvār, the leaders of theVaiṇava movement, there is a strong possibility that it was applied to designate Buddhist monks. On account of this consideration it is not easy to ascertain whether the word denotes a puttar or a monk in the two inscriptions where it occurs. In such instances alternate interpretations cannot be avoided.

Inscription No. 8, which reads *pirāṉāḻvār nāyakar,* could be split up into three words: *pirāṉ*, *āḻvār* and *nāyakar*. All these are nominal forms and could be synonymous. Each of these words could be considered as an epithet of a puttar and as conveying the meaning "The Supreme Lord". Alternatively, it could also be assumed that the first two words are designations of a member of the monastic order who was associated, in some capacity, with the setting up of the image, and that the last word, *nāyakar*, designates a puttar whose physical form is depicted in the image on the pedestal on which the inscription is engraved.

There is some ambiguity also in the expression found in the text of inscription No. 43, which reads *periya pirāṉākarar*. The text is a compound of three words: *periya*, *pirāṉ* and *nākarar*. The expression *periya* is an adjectival form meaning "great" and qualifying the word *pirāṉ*. The form *nākarar* may be understood as an expression formed by adding the honorific singular termina-

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[347] Vide TL 4, p. 2066. The expressions *vērattāḻvār* and *putta tēvar* are found in an inscription from Poloṉṉaṟuvai. Vide Bell, *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon*, *Annual Report* for 1909, p. 27.

[348] Camayativākarar otherwise called Vāmanamuṇi, the commentator of the *nīlakēci*, is said to have lived during the mid-fourteenth century. *puttatēvaraip pūjittal* and *puttatēvarkku ñātiyāvāṉ oruvaṉ* are expressions found in this commentary. Vide *nīlakēci* 1984, pa. 199, 202.

[349] *TL* 4, p. 2702.

[350] *nālāyira tivviya pirapantam* 1950, pa 4, 99, 202.

[351] Periyāḻvār was called *paṭṭarpirāṉ*. Tirumaḷicai āḻvār is sometimes referred to as *tirumaḷicaippirāṉ*. Vide *nālāyira tivviya pirapantam*, pa. 4, 181.

tion *ar* to the personal name *nākar*. Such an explanation presupposes that *nākarar* was an individual who was connected with the donation or the setting up of the image. Such an impression inevitably suggests that *periyapirāṉ* was, in this instance, the designation or epithet of a dignitary holding a position of authority (*nāyakar*) in a monastic order.

The text lends itself to an alternate explanation. It could also be split up into the following three words: *periya*, *pirāṉ* and *ākarar*. The last of these words is a Tamiḻ form of the Sanskrit expression *ākara* meaning "mine" or "reservoir", or "fountain". It is reminiscent of *kuṇākara*(*r*), the name or title of the dignitary mentioned in inscription No. 69.[352] Therefore, the expression *ākarar* could also be considered as part of the name or designation *pirāṉākarar,* which belonged to a monk who held a position of senior rank in the hierarchy of monastic organization.

*perumāḷ* is yet another expression which is applied to a puttar in the form of an epithet. The word *perumāḷ* conveys the meaning "Lord", "God", "king" or "queen".

The initial word in the expression *puttuṭaiyāṉ* may be construed as having been derived from the Sanskrit word *budh*, "to know". *puttuṭaiyāṉ* may therefore be interpreted as having the meaning, "the repository of (right) knowledge". It could have the same significance as the word *pōtiyāṉ,* which occurs in a verse of the *kuṇṭalakēci*. [353] In the South Indian Vaiṇava tradition Mahā Viṣṇu is referred to as *perumāḷ*. Even at present some of the temples dedicated to Viṣṇu are referred to as *perumāḷ* kōyil. The word *perumāḷ* was applied as an epithet to the Cēra Kings, and in that respect it was analogous to *cempiyaṉ* and *ceḻiyaṉ,* which were respectively the epithets of the Cōḻa and Pāṇṭiya Kings. It was also sometimes used as an honorific and suffixed to the names of princes and dignitaries.

The word *perumāḷ* occurs in two of the inscriptions under consideration, and with a special significance in each case. The text of inscription No. 10 consists of three expressions: *puttuṭaiyān*, *perumāḷ* and *nāyakar*. Each of these could be considered as an epithet of a puttar. The second and third expressions could be synonymous while *puttuṭaiyāṉ* may be construed as signifying "The Lord who attained enlightenment (bodhi)". In the other inscription the expression *perumāḷ* forms part of a personal name, *tēvaperumāḷ*, who was obviously the person responsible for setting up the image of a puttar.

The expression *cīrāviyāna nāyakar* (61), which is found on the pedestal of one of the images, is of considerable significance as it reveals in some measure the changes that had taken place in South Indian Buddhism. This expression consists of four words: *cīr*, *āvi*, *āna* and *nāyakar*.

It is possible to explain the first part of the combined expression in two

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[352] He is called ciṟutavūr nālāṅkuṇākara uṭaiyār, "Kuṇākara IV, the uṭaiyār (Nāyakar of Ciṟutavūr. Vide Noboru, Subbarayalu, "An Inscription…", p. 16. In the *meykīrtti* of some Cōḻa kings the queen is described as *perumāḷ*. Vide *TL 5*, p. 2882.

[353] [*kuṇṭalakēci*] *vaḷaiyāpati kuṇṭalakēci* 1964, p. 66.

ways. If it is to be deciphered as *cīrāviyāna,* the expression could be split up into three words: *cīr*, *āvi* and *āna*, and considered as a description of a puttar. As the *puḷḷi*, the consonantal sign, was not indicated on the letter in those days, it is possible to recognise this particular expression as *cīrāviyāṉ*. In that case, the expression may denote a person who was an inhabitant or resident of the locality called Cīrāvi. It may also be noted here that localities called Nīrāvi are found in Yāḻppāṇam in Ilaṅkai and in South India.

The word *āvi* has many connotations: it means "breadth", "fragrance", "mind", "soul" and "the Holy Spirit".[354] In the *cīvakacintāmaṇi* this particular expression is used in one instance to convey the meaning "mind".[355] In the *tiruvācakam* it occurs as a designation applied in respect of the soul.[356] If the word *āvi* is to be construed as one which means the soul, the expression *cīrāviyāna nāyakar* would mean "the Leader who is the resplendent soul". Such an explanation conveys the impression that there were among the Buddhists of Nākapaṭṭiṉam at least some who believed in the existence of the soul.

The concept of a puttar as a saviour and a redeemer is articulated in some of the inscriptions as suggested by the expression *uy(y)akkoṇṭa nāyakar*. The epithet *uy(y)akkoṇṭa nāyakar* was not confined exclusively to epigraphic usage. The concept associated with this epithet seems to have been articulated in some Tamiḻppautta texts of this period. For instance, the expressions *pōtiyāṉ em iṟaivaṉ poruntiṉār uyakkoḷvāṉ*, "Our Lord, the one who attained enlightenment, who redeems those who seek refuge (under him)", are found in the *kuṇṭalakēci*.[357] It is also significant that the concept of a saviour God was found in a developed form in contemporary Vaiṇavam. The epithet *ākamapaṇṭitan*, which is applied to a puttar in one instance, suggests that there was an attempt to formulate conceptions of a puttar on the basis of the local Caiva and Vaiṇava tradition. So *pirāṉ*, which is the initial word in this compound expression, may be explained in two ways. It could be considered as a personal name, although it does not occur in that sense in either the epigraphy or the literature. The other possible explanation is that the word *pirāṉ* was wrongly engraved as *pirāṉ* owing to carelessness. It is interesting to find that three separate words, which could be synonymous, are recorded here. These may be identified as epithets of a puttar. It is also possible that a puttar was referred to as *nāyakar,* while pirāṉ āḷvār was the designation of a senior monk. Yet another possibility is that all these expressions were the designations of a monk who had set up the image. This epithet is reminiscent of some ideas expressed in the *tiruvācakam* of Māṇikkavācakar. He describes Civaṉ as *vētanāyakan*, "the Lord of the Vedas", and as *ākamamāki niṉṟu*

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[354] *TL* 1, p. 251.

[355] *en āvi malar mēl mitittu*, "having made an imprint on the flower which is in my mind". Vide [*cīvakacintāmaṇi*] *tiruttakkatēvariyaṟṟiya cīvakacintāmaṇi mūlamum nacciṉārkkiṉiyar uraiyum* 1986), pa 808, ceyyuḷ 1588.

[356] *āviyum uṭalum uṭaimai ellāmum*, "the sould, the body and all the possession", *tiruvācakam*, viḷakkiyavar śrīmat cuvāmi citpavānantar 1970, pa 750, 33:7.

[357] Vide [*kuṇṭalakēci*] *vaḷaiyāpati kuṇṭalakēci*, p. 66.

*aṇṇippāṉ*[358], "the Lord who manifests himself in the *ākamam* and thereby makes himself closer (to us)".

The inscription which reads *pālana āvana akattallarkaḷ nāyakar* (55) is significant as embodying a fundamental Buddhist conception which may be considered as one which was common to all sects. It translates as "The Lord of those who have discarded in their minds the thoughts about creation and sustenance". By implication, attachment is the cause of rebirth and the cycle of rebirth, which is interminable suffering, could be transcended only by a sense of detachment and renunciation. The humanitarian idealism, which is so forcefully articulated in the *maṇimēkalai* in an earlier period, was not entirely forgotten in Nākapaṭṭiṉam. The expression *nattan kūṭiyavantāḷ nāyakar* found in one of the inscriptions suggests that an attempt was made to represent a puttar as the companion of those in distress. It may be assumed that the Buddhists in Nākapaṭṭiṉam were identified socially with communities of people who could be considered as plebians.

### *5.3.2.3.3. Theistic Traditions in Buddhology*

From the foregoing analysis it is clear that the epithets of Civaṉ and Perumāḷ, as found in contemporary local Caiva and Vaiṇava traditions, were freely adopted and applied to a puttar by the Buddhists of Nākapaṭṭiṉam and other localities in South India. Such a practice presupposes that the Buddhist community did not exist in isolation from the rest of society. It would seem that there was inter-religious and inter-cultural communication to a considerable extent. The adoption of epithets associated with notions of divinity could have had far-reaching effects on buddhology. It probably led to the super-imposition of values and notions associated with the conceptions of God in theistic traditions on buddhology.

Such an impression is supported by the description of a puttar in a verse found in the commentary on the *vīracōḻiyam*, a manual on grammar and poetics written in the reign of the Cōḻa King Vīrarājendra (1053–1070). The relevant portion from the *vīracōḻiyam* reads[359]

| | |
|---|---|
| *eṇṇiṟanta kuṇattōy nī* | You are the fountain of innumerable virtues |
| *yāvarkkum ariyōy nī* | You are much beyond access for all |
| *uṇṇiṟainta aruḷōy nī* | Your form is filled with compassion |
| *uyarpāram niṟaittōy nī* | You have filled the high heavens |
| *meypporuḷai aṟintōy nī* | You have gained the true knowledge |
| *meyyaṟam iṅku aḷittōy nī* | You have taught here the noble law |
| *ceppariya tavattōy nī* | The power of Your austerities cannot be described in words |
| *cērvāṟkkuc cārvu nī* | You are the support of those who seek You |
| *naṉmai nī, tiṉmai nī* | You are in all things good and evil |
| *naṉavu nī, kaṉavu nī* | You are reality and yet You are a dream |

[358] *tiruvācakam*, pa 68.

[359] *poṉpaṟṟi kāvalar puttamittīrar īyaṟṟiya vīracōḻiyam peruntēvaṉār īyaṟṟiya uraiyuṭan*, 1970, alaṅkārappaṭalam, p. 144; Vide vaḷaiyāpati kuṇṭalakēci, p. 116.

| | |
|---|---|
| *vaṉmai nī, meṉmai nī* | You are the most valiant and yet You are the most gentle |
| *matiyu nī, vitiyu nī* | You are the mind and You are the fate |
| *immai nī, maṟumai nī* | You are this phenomenal existence and the world beyond |
| *iravu nī, pakalu nī* | You are night and yet You are day |
| *cemmai nī, karumai nī* | You are red and yet You are black |
| *cērvu nī, cārvu nī* | You are the companion and You are the support |
| *aruḷāḷi payantōy nī* | You filled up the ocean of grace |
| *aṟavāḷi payantōy nī* | You turned the wheel of the law |
| *maruḷāḷi purintōy nī* | You produced the ocean of miracles |
| *maṟaiyāḷi purintōy nī* | You created the flood of scriptures |
| *mātavariṉ mātava ṉī* | You are the foremost among ascetics |
| *vānavaruḷ vānava nī* | Your are the supreme among the celestials |
| *pōtaṉariṟ pōtaṉa ṉī* | You are the supreme among teachers |
| *puṇṇiyaruṭ puṇṇiya ṉī* | You are supreme among the benevolent |
| *āti nī, amala ṉī* | You are the beginning, You are free of impurities |
| *ayaṉu nī, ariyu nī* | You are the creator, You are the guardian |
| *cōti nī, nāta ṉī* | You are the effulgent light, You are the supreme Lord |
| *tuṟaiva nī, iṟaiva ṉī* | You are the other shore, You are God |
| *aruḷu nī, poruḷu nī* | You are grace, You are the reality |
| *aṟiva nī, anaka ṉī* | You are the knower, You are the guide |
| *teruḷu nī, tiruvunī* | You are the one who is sought, You are the wealth |
| *ceṟivu nī, cemma ṉī* | You are the essence of all things, You are greatness itself |

The above description has a strong Mahāyānistic flavour and is significant as projecting the conceptions of a puttar, as found in South India during the period under consideration. The identification of a puttar with Piramā, Perumāḷ and Civaṉ is a matter for consideration and future investigation. It would, perhaps, appear that South Indian Buddhism exhibited some characteristics which were peculiar to the region. It was approaching a stage of absorption within the fold of Caivam and Vaiṇavam.

### *5.3.2.3.4. Monasteries and Monastic Orders*

The Cūḷāmaṇivarmavihāram and the Rājendracōḷapperumpaḷḷi were the two principal monastic institutions in Nākapaṭṭiṉam during the 11th century. The institution called *akkacālaip-perumpaḷḷi*, which was established and supported mainly by artisan and mercantile communities, was attached to the Rājendracōḷapperumpaḷḷi. It would appear that for various reasons the Rājendracōḷapperumpaḷḷi, in course of time, acquired the status of being the premier institution within the monastic complex in Nākapaṭṭiṉam. The Cūḷāmaṇivarmavihāram is referred to only in the Leyden Plates[360] whereas the Rājendracōḷapperumpaḷḷi is mentioned in four separate inscriptions engraved at different times. The expression *cōḻapperumpalli*, found in two inscriptions on the pedestals of images, may be considered as an abbreviated form of the name Rājendracōḷapperumpaḷḷi.

The words *āḻvār* and *nāyakar*, which are combined with the name *cōḻappe-*

[360] Vide 5.3.1.1. in this volume.

rumpaḷḷi in two instances,[361] seem to be synonymous and designate the rank of those who held a position of leadership over the monastic order(s) attached to the monastery and exercised some form of authority over its establishments. Such an impression seems to be supported by an elucidation of the texts of some of the other inscriptions under consideration.

The probability, here, is that the word nāyakar designates the rank of one who was the head of the monastic institution. It is unlikely that a metallic image would have been described as the nāyakar of Cōḻapperumpaḷḷi. Only the principal (stone) image enshrined in the temple could be so described.

It would appear that in some instances the word *nāyakar* designates a position of hierarchical rank in a monastic organisation. Such an understanding seems to be confirmed by an elucidation of the expressions *āttūr cāriputtira nāyakar*. In this text there are three words: *āttūr*, *cāriputtira*(*r*) and *nāyakar*. *āttur* is the name of a place and *cāriputtirar* is the name of a person.[362] The compound expression *cāriputtira-nāyakar* may be understood as denoting a person called Cāriputtirar, who was the *nāyakar*. As *nāyaka*(*r*) could be the designation of one who held a position of authority in the monastic organisation, *Cāriputtira nāyakar* could be identified as a dignitary attached to a monastery. The bronze image on the pedestal, on which this epigraph is engraved, was in all probability set up by Cāriputtirar of Āttūr.

A connexion between Cāriputtirar and the locality of Āttūr on the one hand, and between him and the rank of *nāyakar* on the other is clearly indicated by the inscription. The meaning of the text could also be construed in two ways: either Cāriputtirar, who was a *nāyakar*, was from Āttur or he was the *nāyakar* of a monastery at Āttūr. Such an interpretation is suggested by the text of another inscription, which reads *uṭaiyār tiruvaraṅka nāyakar* (see below).

In a strictly literal sense the expressions *uṭaiyār tiruvaraṅka nāyakar* translate as "The God, the Lord of Tiruvaraṅkam". As this inscription is on the pedestal of a puttar image, one may be tempted to recognise *uṭaiyār* and *nāyakar* as being the epithets of a puttar. But, here one has to err on the side of caution as these words could also designate a religious dignitary. An image of a puttar set up at a monastery or a temple at Nākapaṭṭiṉam cannot be described as *tiruvaraṅka nāyakar*, "The Lord of Tiruvaraṅkam". Therefore, the obvious explanation of *tiruvaraṅka nāyakar* is that it denotes a dignitary who was the *nāyakar* of a monastery at Tiruvaraṅkam. The word *uṭaiyār*, which is the initial expression in the text of this inscription, may be considered as an honorific and having the same significance as the word *svāmi*. Āttūr and Ciṟutavūr may have had monasteries which had a relationship with the institutions established in Nākapaṭṭiṉam. Such an impression presupposes that Nākapaṭṭiṉam was the principal seat of Buddhism in the Tamiḻ country during the middle and late Cōḻa periods and, on this account, was the resort of monks and pilgrims from various localities in South India.

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[361] Vide 5.3.2.3.2. in this volume, nos. 28–65.
[362] Ramachandran, "The Nagapattinam…", p. 38.

There are a few more inscriptions in which the expression *nāyakar* appears to have a connotation suggesting hierarchical rank in a monastic organisation. One such inscription runs *putta uttama nāyakar* (28). The most plausible and straightforward explanation is that it refers to a person called Putta Uttamar who had the designation *nāyakar*. It may be assumed on the basis of this explanation that Putta Uttamar was the head of one of the monasteries attached to the Buddhist establishments at Nākapaṭṭiṉam.

The expression *atipattar(a) nāyakar* found inscribed on the pedestal of one of the images (40) may similarly be elucidated. It seems to record the name of a monk who had the designation *nāyakar*. In this instance the name and designation of a senior monk, who was in some way connected with the setting up of the image, are recorded. *ariyarar nāyakar* (17) and *puttaciṅka nāyakar* (46) are two other compound expressions in which the word *nāyakar* appears to have a connotation signifying a position of rank.

The impression that the expression *nāyakar,* which occurs in some of these inscriptions, is a designation of rank in the monastic order is confirmed by a scrutiny of a couple of inscriptions on the pedestals of puttar images that have clear references to monks. The text of one of these epigraphs runs *svasti srī tiruvinai turai periyamānāmar*. This inscription is of special interest as it records the name of a person and his designation. The designation is not one of hierarchical rank but one which suggests specific responsibility in monastic administration. The expression *tiruvinai* could be understood as the equivalent of *srīkāryam*, which is often encountered in inscriptions as the designation of those who supervised the work of temple administration and periodically inspected temple accounts. Therefore, *tiruvinai turai* could be construed as being the designation of a person who was the head of a group of temple functionaries whose work was similar to that done by individuals who had the designation *śrī kāryam* in respect of Caiva and Vaiṇava temples.

*tiruvinaiturai* was the designation of a person called Periyamānāmar. The compound expression p*eriyamānāmar* could be split up into two words. The word *periya* meaning "senior" or "elder" is an adjective qualifying Mānāmar, which is a personal name.

The expression *miḷakan* may be construed as signifying a person who was engaged in the pepper trade. Pepper, which was a principal product of Malabar, was one of the staples of internal and external trade in South India from ancient times. It may be assumed that Nākapattinam, which was the principal port on the Coromandal during the period under consideration, was a principal centre for the distribution of this commodity.

As Mānāmar is described as p*eriyamānāmar*, it could be inferred that there were two or more individuals who had the name Mānāmar when the inscription was engraved and that the one referred to in it had precedence over others in respect of age or rank. *periyamānāmar* may be considered as a senior monk and an important functionary in monastic administration. It would appear that

he was invested with authority to co-ordinate and superintend the activities of the functionaries of monastic administration.

The head of a monastery is referred to in an inscription which records the expressions *tārayar maṭamuṭaiyāṉ* (2). *tārayar* could be a colloquial form of *tāraiyar* formed by adding the honorific singular termination *ar* to *tārai*. *tārayar maṭam* may be considered as a monastery named after Tārai on account of the images of Tārai that were depicted prominently in painting or sculpture in that monastery. The head of this monastery seems to have been associated with the setting up of an image.

One of the inscriptions, which consists of the expression *talaimanai pūrvapiḷḷai nāyakar*, seems to provide some indication about monastic organisation at Nākapaṭṭiṉam. The expression *talaimanai* may be construed as conveying the meaning "the principal wing or apartment" and having the same significance as the Sanskrit word *agrāyatanam* found in a twelfth century inscription in Ilaṅkai.[363] Such an interpretation presupposes that one of the principal monasteries at Nākapaṭṭiṉam was divided into several units, each of which was placed under the authority of a person who had the designation *nāyakar*.

The co-existence of a plurality of monastic orders and the possibility that the members of the different orders looked up to Nākapaṭṭiṉam as a "sacred" centre seems to be suggested by some inscriptions. The expression *kavarāṇṭi* is found inscribed on the pedestal of an image. This expression could be split up into two words: *kavar* meaning "forked staff" and *āṇṭi* which means "a mendicant". *kavarāṇṭi* may therefore be considered as the name of an order of wandering mendicants who had as their special symbol a forked staff.[364]

Another expression of special significance is *kāṭanpāṭika* found on the pedestal of one of the images. *kāṭan* means "forest dweller" and *pāṭi* has as its connotation "camp". *kāṭan pāṭika* may therefore be recognised as the name of an order of monks who lived in camps set up in jungle tracts. In other words they were *āraññavāsins*. The image on the pedestal on which this inscription is found was in all probability donated by an order of *āraññavāsins*, who probably had the habit of visiting Nākapaṭṭiṉam on a pilgrimage.

### *5.3.2.3.5. Women and Nuns*

Women are referred to in twelve inscriptions, which amount to one-sixth of the total number of epigraphs found on the pedestals of images. It is significant that the word *āḻvi* occurs in four inscriptions (24, 33, 36, 48) while the expression *āṇṭāḷ* occurs only in one (25).

The word *āḻvi*, which does not appear as a lexical item in modern dictionaries, may be considered as a colloquial feminine form of āḻvār. It seems to have the same significance as *āṇṭāḷ*. As the word āḻvār is used as a designation of monks in some inscriptions, the expression *āḻvi* could be construed as a desig-

[363] Wickremasinghe, "Polonnaruva Slab Inscription of the Vēḷaikkaras", pp. 242–255.
[364] Ramachandran, "The Nagapattinam…", plate 26, no. 62.

nation of nuns. On the basis of this explanation all those women who are described as *āḻvi* could be identified as nuns. *cōṇāḻvika* is the expression recorded on the pedestal of one of the images (24). It consists of two words, *cōṇā* and *āḻvi* and the syllable *ka*. Cōṇā is a personal name, being the Tamiḻ form of *sōṇā*, and *āḻvi* is a designation signifying a position of rank in the monastic order. The syllable *ka* appears in this expression in the form of a casal termination indicating possession and is derived from a dialect which was not Tamiḻ. In the light of this explanation the expression concerned translates as "of Coṇā, the *āḻvi*". In other words the epigraph conveys the idea that the image was set up by her.

The name of a person and her designation are indicated in the expression *tukkai āḻvi* (33). *tukkai* was probably the head of an order of nuns attached to a nunnery and in that capacity had set up the image on which her name was inscribed. Another inscription which records the name of a nun reads *tuṟai āḻvi* nāyaṉār (35). It translates as "The (image of the) Lord (puttar) set up by the *āḻvi* of Tuṟai". It may be assumed that she was either a native of the locality called Tuṟai or the head of a nunnery established at Tuṟai (harbour).

That *āḻvi* was the designation of nuns is confirmed by the expression *caṅkāḻvi* (48) found in one of the epigraphs. The full text reads *caṅkāḻvi nāyakar*. If the word *nāyakar* found in this epigraph is to be construed as an epithet of a puttar the text may be translated as follows: "The (image of the) Lord (puttar) set up by the nun, the head of the *caṅkam*". The expression *aḻakiyāṇṭāḷ* recorded in another inscription (25) consists of two words, *aḻaki* and *āṇṭāḷ*. The first one indicates a personal name while the second signifies a designation. Aḻaki was apparently a nun who held a position of rank in the *bhikkhuṇī* order affiliated to the monastic establishments of Nākapaṭṭiṉam. *mānāḷ ciramaṇa ciri,* who is mentioned in one of the inscriptions, seems to have been yet another nun who was associated with the setting up of an image of a puttar. Periyanācci, Etirinācci, Naṅkaipiḷḷai, Umā, Cokki and Cēkalāyi are the other women who are said to have either donated or set up images. They were either *upāśikās* or benefactors, probably belonging to the elite class of society.

### *5.3.2.3.6. Conclusion*

The monastic establishments of Nākapaṭṭiṉam, which were established during the early 11th century, continued to flourish during the middle and late Cōḻa periods. During this period Nākapaṭṭiṉam was the focal point of Buddhist missionary and artistic activity in the Tamiḻ Country. It would appear that the monastic complex had affiliations with centres at such places as Āttūr, Ciṟutavūr, Tiruvāli and Tiruvaraṅkam. The Buddhist tradition as found at Nākapaṭṭiṉam represents a phase of development characterised by strong Mahāyāna and Caiva and Vaiṇava influences.

An imaginative interpretation of the inscriptions on the pedestals of *puttar* images and votive stupas and the fragments of literary texts suggests that a

puttar was invested with the attributes of divinity. In these inscriptions epithets such as *aṇṭaṉ*, *āṇṭāṉ*, *āḻvār*, *nāyaṉār*, *nāyakar*, *nampaṉ*, *uṭaiyār*, *araicar* and *tēvar*, which were derived from the local Caiva and Vaiṇava tradition, are applied to a puttar. It is also significant that a puttar is identified with Piramā, Perumāḷ and Civaṉ in an invocation addressed to a puttar which is quoted in the commentary on the *vīracōḻiyam*. The possibility of South-East Asian influences on Buddhism in South India cannot be discounted, especially on account of the fact that the Cūlamaṇivarmavihāram was established on the initiative of the Śailendra kings. It may also be observed here that the concept of Civaṉ-puttar was developed in Java during the period of the Śailendra kings. In any case, it is difficult to refute the claim that Buddhism at Nākapaṭṭiṉam was fast losing its identity and was on the verge of being absorbed into Caivam and Vaiṇavam. The Buddhist establishments there were on the decline in the 14th century and ceased to exist after the 15th century.

The fragmentary evidence that is available suggests that a plurality of monastic orders were associated with these establishments in some way or other. The association of mendicants attached to the orders called *kavarāṇṭi* and *kāṭaṉpāṭika*(*r*) seems to suggest that sectarian rivalry did not manifest itself openly. Here, it would seem that the adherents of different sects assembled together and interacted freely on account of some compelling reasons.

That some of the monasteries at Nākapaṭṭiṉam were divided into sectors under the charge of senior monks and that there were arrangements for the administration of monastic affairs are the points that emerge from an elucidation of some of the inscriptions. *āḻvar*, *uṭaiyār* and *nāyakar* are the epithets which are applied to a puttar. In some instances they occur as designations of monks. The unmistakable references to women who could be recognised as nuns presuppose the existence of a *bhikkhuṇi* order and nunneries. Some of the ideas articulated in this paper may need to be refined on the basis of future investigation.

## 5. 4. Jain Polemics against the Buddhists in the *nīlakēci*

### *Āḷvāppiḷḷai Vēluppiḷḷai*

### 5.4.1. Introduction

The *nīlakēci* is an extant mediaeval Tamiḻ text, whose author is not known. Even though there is an old commentary to this text, the commentator does not mentioned the name of the author. This is an indication that the commentary was probably written a few centuries after the author's liftime, and that his name had disappeared over the course of time. Cakkaravartti (A Cakravarti), who first edited it about sixty years ago, placed this work between the 1st and

the 5th centuries AD.[365] Very little is known about the author and the date from internal textual evidence. It is fortunate that this text is mentioned in the commentary of a work on poetics called the *yāpparuṅkala virutti*, which is dated to the 11th century.[366] So the *nīlakēci* text should be older than the 11th century. Kamil Zvelebil has dated it to the second half of the 10th century.[367]

The *nīlakēci* is included as one of the five minor narrative poems in Tamiḻ.[368] Even though the five major narrative poems in Tamiḻ include two Buddhist texts, the five minor narrative poems appear to be entirely Caiṉa. The *cūḷāmaṇi*, meaning "the crest jewel", by Tōlāmoḻittēvar is enumerated as the second of the five minor narrative poems and it is indeed an excellent literary work.[369] The *kuṇṭalakēci*, a major Buddhist narrative poem and the *nīlakēci*, a minor Jain narrative poem are in a way closely linked, the latter being a rejoinder to the former. The Tamiḻ Pautta narrative *maṇimēkalai*, meaning "jewel-girdle", was first named after the name of its heroine. Originally the full title of the work could have been *maṇimēkalai tuṟavu*, "the Renunciation of Maṇimēkalai".[370] The *kuṇṭalakēci*, meaning "woman with curled hair", follows the same model in having a name like *kuṇṭalakēci virutttam*, but seems to have inadvertently inaugurated a new literary genre in Tamiḻ. The *nīlakēci*, meaning "woman with blue-black hair", resembles the *kuṇṭalakēci* by including the heroine's name, but sharply criticises the Buddhist point of view from the standpoint of the Jains. These two *-kēci* works seem to have initiated a trend of producing other works with titles like the *piṅkalakēci*, meaning "woman with gold hair", the *añcaṉakēci*, meaning "woman with dark hair", and the *kālakēci*, meaning "woman with black hair". These works have disappeared, with only their names being preserved. Most probably, they were all polemical works, trying to attack other religions from the standpoint of their own religions.[371] The *nīlakēci* is the only extant work among these *-kēci* works.

In the Pāli commentary called *vīmativinodanī*, "Dispeller of Wrong Opinions", ascribed to Kassapa from South India, it is explicitly mentioned that a certain Thera Nāgasena composed the Tamiḻ poem Kuṇḍalakesī vatthu "here in *damiḷaraṭṭha*". It propagated incorrect views and was therefore controver-

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[365] *Neelakesi* 1936, Section 1, pages 6–8. This book is quoted for references from Cakravarti's long introduction in English.
[366] *CSHTL*, p. 69.
[367] Ibid., p. 72.
[368] Jagannathan, *Tamiḻ Kavyas…*, p. 126.
[369] This was the first of the five narratives to be edited and published by Ci Vai Tāmōtarampiḷḷai in 1889. He had a very high opinion of the literary qualities of the work, even compared to *cīvakacintāmaṇi*, which enjoyed a great reputation as a narrative par excellence. Avvai Cu Turaicāmippiḷḷai reciprocates his opinion in his book, *cūḷāmaṇi ccurukkam* 1943, pp. 7–30.
[370] *nīlakēci*, *viḷakkavurai*, 1973, pā 490.
[371] According to *CSHTL*, p. 70: "*yāpparuṅkalavirutti* mentions the *piṅkalakēci* in connection with the *kuṇṭalakēci* and the *nīlakēci*. Various sources quote the other titles. It is difficult to identify the original source. " But all of them have been mentioned in the Yāpparuṅkalavirutti, as can be seen in Amirtasakaranār, *Yapparungalam…*, p. 574.

sial.[372] This Kassapa lived around 1200 AD. Therefore, the Tamiḻ version of the *kuṇṭalakeci* by Nāgasena must have been written earlier.

The author of the *nīlakēci* wanted to destroy the *kuṇṭalakēci* but, by a twist of irony, something of the essence of the latter is preserved only in the *nīlakēci*. Kamil Zvelebil dates the *kuṇṭalakēci* to the first half of the 10th century.[373] Vāmaṉamuṉivar, the author of *camaya tivākara virutti*, "glowing sun of religion", is the old commentator. He is identified with the author of the *mēru mantara purāṇam*, a Tamiḻ Jain text.[374] Cakkaravartti's dating of this commentator to the 14th century seems to be acceptable.[375] The commentator quotes profusely from the *kuṇṭalakēci* to show how *nīlakēci* demolishes her arguments and, in that way, he also saved something from the *kuṇṭalakēci* for posterity.

Vāmaṉamuṉivar himself gives an outline of the *kuṇṭalakēci* story.[376] It runs as follows. Kuṇṭalakēci was a *vaiciya* (*vaiśya*) girl. As she was playing in her mansion, she saw Kāḷaṉ, a *kitavapa vaiviya putraṉ*, "condemned *vaiśya* youth", taken as a prisoner and condemned to death. As she had fallen in love with him her father interceded with the king and obtained Kāḷaṉ's release. After having been happily married for sometime, she began to sulk and she reminded him of his past as a robber. He was so outraged that one day, as the couple was on top of a hill, he told her that he would push her down to die. On the principle that in self-defence one can kill another, she requested permission to circumambulate him before her death. When behind him, she pushed him down to his death. Kāḷaṉ attained release through puttar *smaraṇattāṉāl*, "remembrence of a puttar". Kuṇṭalakēci felt remorse for killing her husband and became a nun. She debated with the *para camayaṅkaḷ ellām nāval naṭṭu jayittu*, "having planted rose apple trees and defeated [protoganists of] other religions". She attained *mukti*, " release", by following *pautta tarcaṉaṅ koṇṭu*, " following the Buddhist philosophical path".[377]

## 5.4.2. The *kuṇṭalakēci* as a Background to the *nīlakēci*

Kuṇṭalakēci was evidently one of the important female disciples of a puttar. Her story is given in the *therīgāthā*, where she is called simply Bhaddā with the additional *purāṇaniganṭhī*, "the former *niganṭhī* (Caiṉa)".[378] We learn that she formerly [during her time as *niganṭhī*] wandered with her hair cut off, wearing dust, but then she saw a puttar on Gijjhakūṭa. Having honoured him, a puttar said to her *ehi Baddhe*, "come Bhaddā", and she accepted *upasampadā*,

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[372] Vide *HPL*, pp. 159, 165, 207.
[373] *CSHTL*, p. 72.
[374] *Neelakesi*, Section 1, page 11.
[375] It is not clear why Kamil Zvelebil dates him in the 15th century. For this dating, see his *CSHTL*, page 70.
[376] *Neelakesi…*, *mokkalavātaccarikkam*, pā 286 urai.
[377] Loc. cit.
[378] *The Thera-and Therī-Gāthā*, pp. 107–111, p. 134.

higher ordination. She passed through Aṅga, Magadha, Vajji, Kāsi and Kosala for 55 years. Now she is *muttāya sabbagandhehi*, "liberated from all bonds".

Kuṇḍalakesi's story is retold in a long version in the *Therīgathā-aṭṭhakathā,* where she is called Baddhā Kuṇḍalakesā.[379] This name recurs in the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*[380] and its commentary, where we also find another long version in the *Apadāna*.[381] In the commentary on the *Dhammapada* her name is given as Kuṇḍalakesi in a very long version.[382] She has no doubt a strong position in the Pāli canon and in the commentaries from the 5th–6th centuries AD. The version from the commentary of the *Dhammapada* is given below.

Kuṇḍalakesi was born at Rājagaha in the family of the king's treasurer. One day as she was looking through her window, she saw a young man being led to execution by the city guard, since he was condemned as a robber. She fell in love with him at first sight. The treasurer heavily bribed the guard and obtained the thief's release and another man was executed instead. Kuṇḍalakesi married him. After some time, the thief decided to run away with her jewels. He planned a strategem.

He told her that he had made a vow to a cliff deity to make an offering to it and he wanted her to accompany him to the cliff. She was asked to wear her best clothes and to adorn herself with her best ornaments. As they were nearing the cliff, he asked their companions to stay away. As he had not shown any affection for her throughout their journey to the cliff, she became suspicious and asked him whether she had offended him. He confessed his plan. She requested him to leave her alone and take her ornaments away with him. He refused to alter his plans. Kuṇḍalakesi outsmarted him by requesting, as a good wife, permision to circumambulate her husband before her death. He granted her wish, whereupon she was able to go behind him and push him down to his death. The cliff deity praised her cleverness.

She could not go back home after killing her husband and so she decided to renounce the world. She entered an order of the nuns. The text does not state that these nuns were Caiṉar, but it mentions some of their activities, which were known to be of lower status, like learning 1000 doctrines (*vādā*). Kuṇḍalakesi, having become outstanding in learning, wandered about and met one day Sāriputta. He could answer all her questions and she decided to become a nun in his [Buddhist] order. She took the name Kuṇḍalakesi and became an *arahat*.[383]

When Vāmaṉamuṉivar's Jain outline in Tamiḻ is compared with the Buddhist version in Pāli, some differences in detail are evident. The Tamiḻ-Jain version refers to the robber-husband as a Buddhist, while the Pāli version is silent about this. There is no release for him in the Pāli-Buddhist version.

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[379] *Therīgāthā-Aṭṭhakathā* 6, pp. 97–106.
[380] *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* 1, p. 25.
[381] *Manorathapūraṇī*, pp. 367–375.
[382] *The Commentary on the Dhammapada* 2, pp. 217–227.
[383] Loc. cit.

Bribing the guard and executing an innocent person is found only in the Pāli-Buddhist version. References to a vow to the cliff deity are also found in the Pali version only. It is only in the Tamiḻ-Jain version that the caste to which the couple belong is emphasised.

The lost Tamiḻ work *kuṇṭalakēci,* to which the *nīlakēci* was a rejoinder, is evidently based upon the career of this Kuṇṭalakēci, who was a prominent sister of the Buddhist Order. The fact that she was originally a Jain probably explains the very sharp criticism found in the *nīlakēci*. Vāmaṉamiṉivar, the old commentator, does not mention the Jain phase in her career either in his short outline of the story.[384] Probably he felt a mental block about narrating the bitter truth that she was a renegade from Caiṉam.

Mayilai Cīṉi Vēṅkaṭacāmi has an article on the Tamiḻ *kuṇṭalakēci* in his book *maṟaintu pōṉa tamiḻ nūlkaḷ*[385], "the Tamiḻ books which have disappeared". He collected information available from various sources like the *puṟattiraṭṭu*, the *vīracōḻiyam* commentary and the *nīlakēci* commentary, and made some comments. The *puṟattiraṭṭu*, an anthology of *puṟam* themes which is dated to the 14th century, has preserved ninteen verses from the *kuṇṭalakēci*.[386] These verses deal with well-known Buddhist themes like

*uṭampiṉ tūytaṉmai*, "the unclean nature of the human body",
the inexorable nature of *viṉai* (*karman*),

*taṉakkeṉroṉraṉumuḷḷāṉ piṟarkkēy uṟutikkuḻantāṉ aṉrēyiṟaivaṉ avaṉrāḷ caraṇ*, "he never wants anything for himself; he strives for the well-being of others, his feet are the refuge as he is the lord from that time",

obtaining *tuppuravu*, "purity of thought" from meditating on *tūyavaṉ*, "the Pure Being",
lust cannot be conquered through t*uyttal*, " indulgence", and
no point in grieving over *yākkai nilaiyāmai*, "impermanence of the body", which perishes every moment. [387]

The *vīracōḻiyam* commentary gives the full title of this book as the *kuṇṭalakēci viruttam*,[388] the latter referring to the kind of prosody that is special for many Tamiḻ narrative poems. It also gives the information that there were a few verses of *kalitturai* prosody in this narrative poem as well. It is in this commentary that the first mention of the *kuṇṭalakēci viruttam* as an *akalakkavi*, "elaborate poem", occurs. This commentary also mentions that rare words and difficult (supernatural ?) themes occur in works like the *kuṇṭalakēci*, but they might have been unavoidable for those composing elaborate poems. The com-

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384 *Neelakesi…*, p. 103–104.
385 vēṅkaṭacāmi, *maṟaintuppōṉa tamiḻ nūlkaḷ*, pp. 111–122.
386 Loc. cit.
387 Loc. cit.
388 puttamittiraṉār, *vīracōḻiyam* 1942, pp. 171, 220.

mentator gives the alternate explanation that these words and themes probably made sense at the time of composition of those elaborate themes.

The *nīlakēci* commentary cites many Buddhism-based verses but does not give any references. The *puṟattiraṭṭu*, the 14[4] century anthology, quotes ninteen poems from the *kuṇṭalakēci*.[389] It is in the *mokkala vāta ccarukkam*, "chapter on debate with Mokkalaṉ", where Nīlakēci refutes Kuṇṭalakēci's arguments against *ārukatam*, "arhatism" [=Caiṉam], that references to the verses in the *kuṇṭalakēci* are profusely mentioned by Vāmaṇamuṉivar.[390] The initial compound or the initial phrase of the verse is usually mentioned and sometimes the content of the argument is also mentioned. Vēṅkaṭacāmi was able to collect the initial portions of ninty-two *kuṇṭalakēci* verses from Vāmaṇamuṉivar's commentary of that particular chapter. The commentary of the *takka yākap paraṇi* also has two references to verses from the *kuṇṭalakēci*, but there too, only the initial phrases of the verses are given. It is difficult to make much out of these references.

Vēṅkaṭacāmi finds fault with the *nīlakēci* commentary for being misleading about the name of the author of the *kuṇṭalakēci*.[391]

According to Vēṅkaṭacāmi, the commentary to verse 344 states that Nātakuttaṉār composed it.[392] Vēṅkaṭacāmi was informed by a Buddhist monk friend from Ilaṅkai that Kāciyapa Tērar from the Cōḻa country mentioned in his elaborate Pāli commentary to the *Vimativinotanī* that Nākacēṇa Tērar wrote the narrative poem *kuṇṭalakēci* in Tamiḻ to destroy rival religious systems. Although Vēṅkaṭacāmi's information from Ilaṅkai is confirmed by Oskar von Hinüber,[393] his argument is obviously wrong, as Nātakuttaṉār was the name of the Caiṉa who was defeated by Kuṇṭalakēci.

### 5.4.3. The Structure of the *nīlakēci*

The anonymous author of the *nīlakēci* makes it clear that he did not borrow the story about Nīlakēci from anywhere. In his *avaiyaṭakkam*, apologetic preface, he says that after worshipping the *taṇṭāmarai mēl naṭantāṉ taṭan tāḷ*, "the broad feet of he who walked over cool lotus", he lay down and had a dream.[394] A *tēvaṉ* presented a scenario where a demoness, who was following evil ways, listened to an exposition of *aṟam* from a Jain monk and changed her ways to elevate her mind and worked to rid the world of evil. The poet's *patikam*, "introduction", also gives a summary in two verses of this narrative poem.[395] This summary qualifies some features of literary description, which allows the

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[389] puṟattirattu, pattippu ca vaiyāpuripiḷḷai 1939, pa 251).
[390] *nīlakēci*, mokkalavātaccarukkam, urai, pā 288–445.
[391] vēṅkaṭacāmi, *maṟaintu pōṉa tamiḻ nūlkaḷ*, p. 115.
[392] *CSHTL*, p. 71, echoes Vēṅkaṭacāmi's opinion.
[393] HPL, p. 159.
[394] *nīlakēci*, avaiyaṭakkam, pā 3.
[395] *nīlakēci*, pā 8–9, *pāyiram*.

work to be considered a minor narrative. In this connection it is worthy of note that these features only occur in the first chapter called *tarumavurai ccarukkam*, "chapter on the preaching of *dharma*", which makes up about one sixth of the book.

About five sixths of the book[396] are taken up with religious debates. It should be noted here that the religions discussed in this work tally exactly with the religions mentioned in the twenty-seventh chapter of the *maṇimēkalai*, with Buddhism and Caiṉam changing roles. From this situation, it is possible to deduce that the kuṇṭalakēci also must have treated the same religions as the *maṇimēkalai*. The author of the *kuṇṭalakēci* must have felt that the negative evaluation of non-Buddhist Indian religions was not sufficient and embarked on a more aggressive policy, developing arguments to attack the other religions. As Buddhism was a minority religion, the poet still clung on to general principles without mentioning sectarian divisions within Buddhism. There could also be another reason for the poet assuming such an attitudebecause Kuṇṭalakēci was mentioned as being contemporary with a puttar and Buddhism remained a monolith in its founder's times.

Even though the *nīlakēci* takes up six religious philosophies for criticism, it is very clear that it just wants to assert its uniqueness and distinctness from religions other than Buddhism. The last five chapters of the book dealing with *ācīvakam*, "Ājīvikism", *cāṅkiyam* "sāṃkhya", *vaicēṭikam* "Vaiśeṣika", *vētavātam*, "Vedic school" and *pūtavātam*, "materialism" take up only about one fourth of the book.[397] Seventy one verses are devoted to *ācīvakam*.[398] This religion has disappeared without leaving any easily recognisable trace in Tamiḻ. As one of the non-Vedic religions, where monks practised nudity, it also had something in common with Digambara Caiṉam and it was probably felt necessary for the Caiṉar to distance themselves from it. It should be remembered here that these two religions were grouped together in the *maṇimēkalai*[399] and later in the *civa ñāṉa cittiyār*.[400]

It is surprising that the Vedic school has the least number of verses attacking it. The poet does not refer to important developments like the patti religion or Śaṅkara's Vedānta, perhaps because he wanted to make his story contemporary with a puttar. Another amazing thing is that eight out of the thirty-one verses in this section are lost, and there is no possibiltiy of retrieving them.[401] Unlike Tamiḻ Buddhism which does not have any historical continuity among the Tamils, Tamiḻ Caiṉam continues to exist. The first editor of the *nīlakēci*, who was himself a Tamiḻ Jain scholar, obtained three manuscripts from Jain

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[396] About 745 out of 894 pā in all.
[397] About 237 out of 894 pā.
[398] *nīlakēci*, pā 659 to 729.
[399] Vēluppiḷḷai, "A Negative Evaluation…", p. 232.
[400] civāccariyār, "civañāṉacittiyār parapakkam", pā 165.
[401] pā 345 to 352 are missing in the *vēta vāta ccarukkam* (845 to 852) in the *nīlakēci*. cittānta cāttiram mūlamum uraiyum 1934.

scholars[402] in Tamiḻakam and even these manuscripts had not preserved these eight verses. It is difficult to explain this situation although it is possible to speculate that the *brāhmaṇas* might have censored these verses because of some sharp criticism of themselves.

About five eighths of the *nīlakēci*[403] deal with debates with the Buddhists. So it is possible to assert that the aim of the book is to attack Buddhism. Many new converts exhibited extraordinary zeal in their new faith and the poet chooses such a story. The story opens in Pāñcāla country at the site of a cemetery where an animal sacrifice is to be offered to a Kāḷi temple. Muṉi Cantira Paṭṭārakar, a Jain monk, persuades the people not to kill animals. The *pēykaḷ*, "evil spirits", become angry as they want to feast on flesh and blood. They look for a powerful demoness who can get rid of the Jain monk from the cemetery. They locate the most powerful demoness, the Paḻaiyaṉūr Nīli in Tamiḻakam. She tries her level first to frighten and then to seduce the Jain monk. In the end, she listens to his teaching and becomes his disciple. It is a tremendous change for her to adopt the Jain way of life and she wants to atone for her evil past. The monk advises her to carry the message of Caiṉam to the world.

Nīlakēci feels that Buddhism should be her first target.[404] The internal rivalry between these two non-Vedic religions seems to have become intense. The puttar has not condemned meat eating. He does not accept the concept of the soul. He does not accept the value of austerities. He behaves like an attractive courtesan who undermines the noble qualities of men. In this list of four criticisms, it is clear that Nīlakēci assesses Buddhism from her newly-acquired Jain standpoint. Caiṉam, which insists on absolute vegetarianism even for its laity, found it difficult to understand how Buddhism, which claims to be equally concerned with non-violence, can accept meat-eating even at its highest levels. Like Buddhism, Caiṉam also rejects an absolute God, but in contradistinction to Buddhism, it accepts the concept of the soul. The puttar has rejected severe austerities advocated by religions like Caiṉam as useless, and advocates a middle path to reach enlightenment. Compared to Jain monks who even give up such things as clothes and bathing to be free from worldly encumbrances, Buddhist monks have to be preoccupied with so many things like their robes, washing, brushing teeth, shaving while attending to their personal appearance. This aspect, together with laxity in what the Caiṉar consider

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[402] The preface of the *Neelakēci* says on page 6 that Cakkaravartti made use of four manuscripts, three of which were obtained from the following: Sri Laksmisena Bhattaraka Bhattacharya Swamigal of Mel-Chittamur, Caiṉa Mutt; Samanthabhadra Nainar of Perumandur and C S Mallinath, Editor, *Caiṉa Gazette*, Madras.

[403] About 508 pā out of 894 pā.

[404] *ūṉ riṉral iḻukk eṉṉāṉ uyiriṇaiyum ulat eṉṉāṉ*
*nōṉralaiyu nōṉp eṉṉā nōkkuṭaiya kaṇikaiyarē*
*pōṉriṟuntu potiy aṟukkum puttaṉraṉ puṉṉeṟiyai*
*yāṉ ceṉṟ ahtaṭippaṭuppaṉ aṟa kkarumam ituv eṉṟāḷ* (*nīlakēci viḷakkavurai—kuṇṭalakēci vāta ccarukkam*, pā 163).

proper moral conduct, lead to their being compared with courtesans, as Nīlakēci explaíns on a later occasion.[405]

The *nīlakēci* has four chapters on polemics with Buddhism probably because the author had the aesthetic sense not to make the controversy monotonous. The four chapters relate to religious debates at four different levels. As Kuṇṭalakēci was a personal disciple of a puttar, the anonymous poet arranged to have his heroine meet in debate two of his contemporaries. According to the Buddhist sources, Kuṇṭalakēci was enlightened by Sāriputta and directed to go the puttar personally.[406] The anonymous Tamiḻ poet introduces two Buddhist monks as well as a puttar and Kuṇṭalakēci. It is not clear why the anonymous poet preferred Mokkalaṉ, the other chief disciple of a puttar, in preference to Sāriputta. As well as Mokkalaṉ and Kuṇṭalakēci, the anonymous author introduces Arukkacantiraṉ, possibly an imaginarycharacter, just to have an additional chapter in his book. Mokkalaṉ is addressed as Tēra[407] (thera) by the *nīlakēci* in a number of places, maybe because his character was taken from Pāli sources.

Except for the first chapter, all the other nine chapters in the *nīlakēci* have been given titles relating to the respective debate. The last five chapters just mention the name of each school, as the debate was with one person from each school.[408] As Buddhism was debated with four different teachers, there are four different chapters: *kuṇṭalakēci vāta ccarukkam*, *arukkacantira vāta ccarukkam*, *mokkala vāta ccarukkam* and *putta vāta ccarukkam*. A short review of these four chapters will be attempted in the following four sections:-1. Kuṇṭalakēci was disgraced, 2. Arukkacantiraṉ was ridiculed, 3. Mokkalaṉ was made clueless, and 4. the puttar was defeated.

## 5.4.4. Kuṇṭalakēci was Disgraced

Through clairvoyance, Nīlakēci learns of Kuṇṭalakēci's mission on behalf of Buddhism. The latter was in Kāmpili, establishing in front of the city gate a branch of the rose apple tree,[409] the symbol of religious challenge. The former takes on the guise of a Jain nun[410] and informs the king that she would accept the challenge of religious debate. Kuṇṭalakēci insists on some kind of reward for the victor in the debate, and some kind of punishment for the loser.[411] This is accepted by all.

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[405] Vide *mokkalavātaccarukkam* pā 272 to 282 in the *nīlakēci*.

[406] *Neelakesi*, pp. 81–94.

[407] *nīlakēci*, 1973, pā 271, 326, 387, 396, 412, 420,433, 437. It is not possible to conclude from these references that only Theravāda Buddhism is under attack in this book.

[408] *ācīvaka vāta ccarukkam* with the ājīvakas; *cāṅkiya vāta ccarukkam* with the sāmkhyas; *vaicēṭika vāta ccarukkam* with the vaiseṣikas; *vēta vāta ccaukkam* with the mimāmsakas and *pūta vāta ccaukkam* with the materialists. There are altogether only 236 pā in these five chapters. Vide *nīlakēci*, viḷakkavurai…. pā 659–894.

[409] *nīlakēci*, *kuṇṭalakēci vāta ccarukkam*, pā 167–170.

[410] Ibid., pā 165.

[412] See next page.

Kuṇṭalakēci begins by expounding the fundamental doctrines of her religion, *mutalvaṉ*, "founder", nūl, "scripture", *muṭi poruḷ*, "teaching", and *poruḷ nikaḻvu*, "practice".[412] The anonymous poet allocates two verses where Kuṇṭalakēci refers to the noble qualities of a puttar, such as having been great from the very beginning, not caring for his own needs, suffering for the sake of others, attaining enlightenment and realising the total impermanence of things, and also to the five skandhas and to the aggregate of these found like the end of a lighted lamp. Nīlakēci elaborates these statements and criticises them very briefly.[413]

Kuṇṭalakēci finally gives up the philosophical standpoint and takes her stand on the several noble qualities of a puttar, related to his previous life as a *pōticattuvar*, "bodhisattva".[414] As a *pōticattuvar* in various previous births, he offered as gifts everything that was asked of him including his own head, eyes, and the flesh and blood of his body. He even gave his own sons as slaves to one who begged him for domestic slaves. These gifts are narrated by Kuṇṭalakēci to indicate the magnanimity and the nobility of Lord puttar. Nīlakēci points out that such gifts are useless and absurd. Magnanimous gifts to those who beg must be of some service to the people receiving them. For a headless trunk to go to the *pōticattuvar* and ask for his head is primarily meaningless and impossible. It cannot live much less speak; and to satisfy the headless trunk by severing one's own head does not indicate the wisdom of the giver. The various gifts narrated by Kuṇṭalakēci are of a similar type, utterly useless to the receiver and perfectly meaningless to the giver. Kuṇṭalakēci responds that it was a method of testing the worth of the *pōticattuvar* by Intiraṉ (Indra). According to Nīlakēci, Intiraṉ, as the chief of the celestials, ought to discover easily the greatness of the *pōticattuvar* without subjecting him to such cruel tests. Thus every act of compassion mentioned by Kuṇṭalakēci as indicating the greatness of the *pōticattuvar* is rejected as meaningless and absurd by Nīlakēci.

Finally Kuṇṭalakēci is silent, unable to meet the objections raised by Nīlakēci, which is interpreted by the king and audience as a confession of defeat. Nīlakēci asks her rival who the latter's teacher was. On this answer, she decides to confront Arukkacantiraṉ. Drums are beaten aloud to announce Kuṇṭalakēci's defeat. Humiliating remarks are heaped on her. She is forbidden to enter the city again.[415]

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[411] Ibid., pā 173.
*veṉṟōrkk oru viḻu pporuḷum tōṟṟōrkk ōr perun tuyarum*
*oṉṟākav uraiyākkāl uraiyēṉ yāṉ eṇa ccoṉṉāḷ.*

[412] Ibid., pā 175.

[413] Ibid., pā 178– 204. Nīlakēci criticises later Buddhist concepts like *vāsanā* and *santāna* as inconsistent with the concept of momentariness. She castigates both the Puttar and Kuṇṭalakēci as murderers as the miraculous birth of the Buddha through the ribs of his mother and her ensuing death soon after have been interpreted by his critics as matricide and as Kuṇṭalakēci killed her husband in self-defence.

[414] Ibid., pā 205–206.

[415] Ibid., pā 228.
*vaṭṭi koḷ paṟai koṭṭi vaḻuv urai pala colli vāral eṉṟu*
*peṭṭaṇa pala ceytu perunakar vāyilai ppuṟappaṭuttār.*

## 5.4.5. Arukkacantiraṉ was Ridiculed

Nīlakēci travels to Uñcai (Ujjain) to meet Arukkacantiraṉ, where he is residing in a prosperous paḷḷi located in a beautiful grove. He lives in such ostentatious style that even kings used honorific titles when dealing with him.[416] He is an excellent debator: the poet uses the Tamiḻ idiomatic expression *puli*, "tiger" to denote that excellence.[417] When Nīlakēci sees him first, he is teaching a large number of disciples how to beg for alms, how to carry off a lot of rice gruel in the bowl, how to bend over backwards to eat the maximum, how to take away a lot of meat and how to chew meat to avoid hiccups, how to shave the head and how to apply collyrium to the eyes, etc.[418] The topic of discussion is the ethical code described by Buddhism, according to the *viṉaiya viti* (*vinaya piṭaka*). Nīlakēci points out the great discrepancy that exists between the ideal of Buddhist ethics and the actual code of conduct of the Buddhists. She cites several of the stories from the *Jātaka* tales which present the conduct of the *pōticattuvar*– even parting with his own wife and children as gifts to the beggars -to indicate the moral ideal of parting with anything and everything that is requested of one. No Buddhist seems ready to follow such noble ideal.[419]

Nīlakēci points out several corrupt practices that have entered into the Buddhist Saṃgha.[420] Ciṅkatatta Tērar, a Buddhist monk, once made overtures to a female ascetic. When she objected to his behaviour as they were in the temple precincts, he was said to have answered that for ascetics, the temple was as good as any other place for sex.[421] Another story relating to Makaṉār mentions that one night he went out in disguise and had intercourse with the dead body of a woman. When questioned by his colleagues, he answered that according to the Buddhist concept of no-soul, every person must be a corpse.[422] According to another story, when a Buddhist monk tried to have sex with a female ascetic, she questioned his conduct as inconsistent with the Buddhist code of morals. The monk replied indirectly that there were two distinct codes of con-

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[416] The *nīlakēci* appears to be critical of monastic Buddhism in this and the following two chapters. There was a development of monastic Caiṉam within contemporary Caiṉam but that was not taken up for discussion in this book.

[417] *vaya ppuliy ēṟu*, "strong male tiger".
*nīlakēci, arukkacantira vāta ccarukkam*, pā 234.

[418] Ibid., pā 237–238. The contemptuous feelings of the anonymous poet towards the Buddhist monks is evident here.

[419] Ibid., pā 243. According to the *nīlakēci*, an average Buddhist man will be outraged if another man even shows interest in the former's wife. The Viśvāntara Jātaka story is under discussion here.

[420] It is not clear from the text where *nīlakēci* got the subsequent stories and exemption from. The commentary refers them to the *viṉaya piṭakam*.

[421] *nīlakēci, arukkacantira vāta ccarukkam*, pā 245.
*ciṅka tattar eṉappaṭun tēraṉār*
*caṅka pōtiyilāḷkaṭ ṭayā cceyav*
*ink iteṉṉ eṉa ēḷāy tavacikaṭk*
*eṅk eṅk āmill eṉav uraittāṉarō.*

[423] See next page.

duct, one based upon popular opinion and the other on the *aṟivu vilakku*, "enlightened in injunction". Prohibition of *kolai*, "killing", *kaḷavu*, "stealing", *kāmam*, "lust", etc. were all based merely upon public opinion, and no kind of religious principle was involved.[423] The monk implied that Buddhist monks were not obliged to observe prohibitions like those of lust, killing, stealing, etc. Nīlakēci gives a list of ten kinds of people with whom Buddhist monks are allowed to have sexual relationship if they cannot control themselves. This list includes prostitutes, lay women disciples, dumb women, nun-beginners, hermaphrodites and animals.[424]

Nīlakēci points out the elaborate paraphernalia of a Buddhist monk; that he has to equip himself with several things for his own convenience which an ascetic need not possess. She also points out what are perceived by other religionists as contradictions in Buddhism. Buddhism preaches compassion and love to all living creatures but encourages meat-eating;[425] enjoins a strict ethical code as a means of salvation and yet upholds the philosophical concept of emptiness; preaches the doctrine that everything that exists is impure and yet enjoins worship of a puttar with flowers and other materials; preaches that everything is impermanent and vanishing and yet elaborately builds huge edifices such as temples and monasteries; preaches the doctrine of non-existence of soul, and yet narrates the previous births of a puttar in the *Jātaka* tales; preaches brotherly love for all living beings and yet allows these very brothers to be eaten without compunction.

In the *Jātaka* tales a puttar is described as having lived in the forms of various animals and birds. Buddhist art depicts the *pōticattuvar* in the form of different animals and birds. The Buddhists venerate these figures and even worship them as forms of a puttar. Nevertheless, neither affection nor veneration stand in their way when they eat the flesh of these animals.

When these contradictions are pointed out to Arukkacantiraṉ, he has no satisfactory answer to them. He has to accept the criticism and acknowledge

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[422] Ibid., pā 246.
*Yātum illaiy uyir eṉṟ aṟaneṟiy*
*ōtiṉaṉ avv uyirili taṉṉoṭu*
*vētaṉai taṉippāṉ viṉai vīṭṭiṟkum*
*cātaṉai niṟkum cattuvaṉām eṉṟīr.*
[423] Ibid., commentary on pā 248.
[424] Ibid., pā 249.
*ārampicciy ali vilaṅk avvuruc*
*cīriṟk ottāḷ kaṇikai teruṇṭāl peṇṇ*
*ōrum illāḷ uyiriliy ūmaiyun*
*tāramāk kohṭīr eṉṟal calamatō.*
[425] *nīlakēci, arukkacantira vāta ccarukkam*, pā 354. It is a misrepresentation to say that Buddhism encourages meat eating. Buddhism has not imposed any dietary restriction. If the mind is not involved in killing, there is no evil *karman* and anything can be eaten. Even the top Buddhist monks in a country like Ilaṅkai which is proud of preserving pure Buddhism are meat eaters. Caiṉam takes a broader view that even unintentional physical acts can bring in evil *karman*. So it imposes strict dietary restriction of vegetarianism even on laymen. The *vaṉ teyvam*, "demoness", Nīlakēci was fond of meat. It was to uphold animal sacrifice that she challenged Muṉicantiraṉ, a Caiṉa monk. After she became a convert to Jainism, she condemned meat eating with the zeal of a new convert.

the defects within the Buddhist Saṃgha. Hence, he willingly accepts the Jain *dharma* presented by Nīlakēci, the *dharma* based upon a genuine doctrine of non-violence and which accepts the fundamental basis of the soul without which neither release nor the way of release can have any meaning. Nīlakēci takes leave of him to confront Mokkalaṉ, his teacher.

### 5.4.6. Mokkalaṉ Was Made Clueless

Nīlakēci next goes to Patumapuram to meet Mokkalaṉ.[426] His monastery is described as a luxurious establishment, with golden sand and flowers scattered in the premises and teachings written on the walls. The paḷḷi was like a huge castle and its tower and rows of pillars were in the shape of a *makaram*, "shark", a sea animal. Nīlakēci wonders whether this luxuriousness is due to wealth brought in ships from overseas, implicitly referring to the Buddhists' missionary activities overseas. [427] In this chapter, some of the important topics of Buddhist philosophy are introduced. The major portion of the section is devoted to apologetics, answering the criticism passed by the Buddhist writers on Jain doctrines. The apparent difference between the Buddhist ascetic and the Jain ascetic is the elaborate dress of the former. Nīlakēci points out the inconsistency of his conduct with the ideal of *tavam*, "asceticism". A complete renunciant of the world need not be draped in the elaborately stitched dress worn by the Buddhist monks. Originally, a monk was enjoined to make a dress to cover his nudity by picking up rags and stitching them into a covering for the body. Later, even when the monks had new clothes presented to them, they had to tear them into small pieces and stitch them together to observe the rule. This practice meant that every monk had to acquaint himself with the art of tailoring. They also must of learnt the practice of dyeing their clothes, because they were in the habit of using *tuvar āṭai*, "red ochre (yellow?) clothes".

When Nīlakēci tells him that she has already defeated Kuṇṭalakēci, Mokkalaṉ is shocked as the latter has the reputation of being able to defeat in debate the Caiṉar as well as the Vedic scholars. He mentions the defeat of Nātakuttaṉār, a Caiṉa, at Āvaṇam in debate with Kuṇṭalakēci. Nīlakēci challenges Mokkalaṉ to state the actual arguments used by Kuṇṭalakēci when defeating Nātakuttaṉār, and she hopes to answer all these to the full satisfaction of Mokkalaṉ.

The *nīlakēci* uses this chapter to counter-attack Buddhism and defend Caiṉam, concentrating on Buddhist polemics against the Caiṉar in the *kuṇṭalakēci*. To emphasise this point, the *nīlakēci* mentions in the twenty-first verse of this chapter its heroine's challenge to Mokkalaṉ to come out with

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[426] This Tamiḻised form stands for the Sanskrit name Maudgalyāyana, Pāli Moggalāna, one of the two chief disciples of the Buddha. The commentator introduces Mudhara in Grantha script as its original form in his commentary to pā 271 in the *nīlakēci*, *mokkala vāta ccarukkam*, but it is not clear from where he got this name.

[427] The Caiṉa monks observed an injunction against overseas travels. Until the present century there is no evidence for the Caiṉa presence outside the Indian sub-continent and maybe Ilaṅkai.

Kuṇṭalakēci's arguments,[428] and in the one hundred and eighty-first verse of the same chapter his defeat after repeating all Kuṇṭalakēci's arguments.[429] This chapter is understandably the longest in the book. Three fifths of it are directly concerned with the refutation of Kuṇṭalakēci's arguments against Caiṉam.[430]

During her argumentation, Nīlakēci comes out with criticisms of the Buddhist philosophy. According to her, many criticisms of the Jain position arise from misunderstanding and misrepresentation. She tries to correct them and point out that some of the criticisms are appropriate for the Buddhist stand and inappropriate for the Jain stand. So apologetics for Caiṉam also turn into polemics against Buddhism. The ultimate realities for the Buddhists are only the five skandhas alone, and yet Kuṇṭalakēci speaks of the world with its boundary as distinct from the *devalokas* and hells.[431] He denies the existence of Time as an independent category, and yet he speaks of moments and *kalpas*.[432] He denies both the reality of heavenly bodies and the category of Time and yet accepts astrology and the results of astrological calculations.[433] He denies the existence of soul according to his concept of no-soul. He challenges his opponent to show the *pramāṇam*, "instrument", by which the latter accepts soul as reality. He recognises only two *pramāṇam*, *kāṭci*, "perception", and *aṉumāṉam*, "inference". *ākamam*, "scripture", for him has no validity. Since neither of the two instruments is able to establish the reality of the soul, he concludes that it has no existence. He entirely forgets that his own category of *aṟivukkantam*, (*vijñānaskandha*) is similar to his opponent's soul.[434] How does he establish his category here? If it is inner perception or introspection, then the same thing would apply equally to his opponent. How does he explain his beliefs regarding the existence of celestials and Intiraṉ?[435] He freely refers to these entities and yet he must accept that they are not revealed either by perception or inference. If he justifies his belief from their being mentioned in his religious scripture, he has to accept also the reality of soul, which is implicitly assumed in the *Jātaka* tales.

The commentator of the *nīlakēci* brings in two references to Buddhists in Īḷam (Ilaṅkai)[436]. The argument in this section refers to *kāraṇa nal viṉai*,

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[428] *nīlakēci*, *mokkala vāta ccarkkam*, pā 287.
*ātikāl āvaṇattuḷ ārkatarai veṉṟataṉai*
*nītiyāl uraittīyēl ṉiṉṉai yāṉ vellēṉō* (lines 3–4).
[429] Ibid., pā 447.
*Kōtiy iṭṭ uḷḷat ellāṅ kuṇṭalakēciy eṉpāḷ*
*āti cāl āvaṇattuḷ ārkatar tammai veṉṟa*
*vītiy īt eṉṟu colli vīḻntaṇai nīyum eṉṟāḷ*
*nītiyāṟ colli veṉṟa nīla mā kēci nallāḷ.*
[430] 120 pā out of 197 pā.
[431] *nīlakēci*, *mokkala vāta ccarukkam*, pā 295.
[432] Ibid., pā 297.
[433] Ibid., pā 298.
[434] Ibid., pā 299.
[435] Ibid., pā 300.
[436] Ibid., commentary to pā 330, 336.

"good *karman* from responsiblity" and *kāraṇa tī viṉai*, "evil *karman* from responsiblity".[437] Buddhists who subscribe to *kāraṇa nal viṉai* could not and should not reject *kāraṇa tī viṉai*. Even though the Caiṉar and the Buddhists subscribe to non-violence, there is a fundamental difference. The Buddhists worship the *pōti maram*, "bo tree", because of its association with a puttar's enlightenment, thinking that it draws them to a puttar and reflecting that they earn merit thereby. The Caiṉar abstain from meat-eating because this indirectly causes killing of animals. The Buddhists, who claim to be equally against non-violence, eat meat, thus indirectly promoting violence. As devotion to a puttar is implied by the worship of the bo tree, compassion for living beings is implied by not eating meat. If the Buddhists cannot give up eating meat, they should give up worshipping the bo tree. Buddhists refrain from cutting down and burning the bo- tree because of its connection to a puttar. In the same way, they should abstain from meat, which can only be obtained by killing living beings.

In this context, the *nīlakēci* refers to the worship of a puttar's tooth relic.[438] The text mentions *palluṭaiyāṉ*, "man with tooth", and *tātu*, "relic". The commentator refers to a *pōticattuvar* known as *īḻam aṭippaṭutta tāṭai* āḻvār, "molar tooth lord who subjugated Īḻam".[439] The argument here is that if there is merit in worshipping a puttar/ *pōticattuvar* when he was alive or his tooth relic after his death, it should be accepted that it is a sin to destroy the bodies of living beings. If Buddhists argue that the dead animal is like sand and that there is no sin in eating it and no merit in abstaining from eating it, then they should accept that there is no merit in worshipping the tooth relic and no sin in burning it.

The second reference occurs in the commentary six verses later when Vāmaṉamuṉivar cites an example to explain a riddle.[440] The riddle is how could the sin of killing in the sea accrue to those dwelling on the hill. The commentator says that it is like the merit accruing to the saṃgha and the laymen of Īḻam who agreed to build a kōyil, "temple". The sin accruing to a hill-dwelling individual from the sin of killing in the sea, says the commentator, would be the same amount as the merit accruing to an individual among the Buddhists who agreed to put up a Buddhist temple in Īḻam.

The commentator in his apologetics for Jain vegetarianism argues that Buddhism imposes so many conditions on eating "pure meat" that it should be

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[437] The *Neelakeci* commentator also introduces similar phrases like *kāraṇāṟ puṇṇiyam*, "merit from responsiblity" and *kāraṇāṟ pāpam*, "sin from responsiblity" after *nīlakēci*, pā 328 to substantiate his argument.

[438] *nīlakēci*, pā 330.

[439] Ibid., commentary. The commentator narrates a strange tale about this person. He was a *pōticattuvar* who tricked the *ciṅkaḷa* king and established his domination over the whole land. He went begging to the *ciṅkaḷa* king and obtained from him some land to keep his leather. Through his *irutti* (*rddhi*) power he made the leather expand to cover the whole land, which he claimed as his own. *avaṉ aṟam uraittāṉ*, "he preached the dharma", exhorting that those in his land should follow his *dharma*. The *Tamiḻ Lexicon* gives the meaning of molar teeth for *tāṭai* (*dādhā*) and glosses it in Tamiḻ as *perum pal*, "big teeth".

[440] Ibid., commentary to pā 336.

concluded that it is against meat-eating at a theoretical level. There are two kinds of meat: *kalpya māṃśam*, "pure meat", and *akalpya māṃśam*, "impure meat".[441] The distinguishing features could be three, six or nine. Killing, responsibility for killing, and agreeing to kill are the three primary features. Seeing, hearing, and doubting that killing has been done to feed the person concerned are the next three features. Desiring, eating excessively, and flattery should also be avoided. If an individual honestly wants to avoid these nine defects, he cannot eat meat except that of animals which have suffered a natural death. It is hypocrisy for a Buddhist to claim that he eats only *kalpya māṃśam*, without the nine defects.

Nīlakēci defends Caiṉam so effectively that Mokkalaṉ feels disarmed completely and acknowledges defeat at her hands. Nīlakēci takes this opportunity to sum up the supremacy of *the arukaṉ*, the Jain *arhat* and the way of release in Caiṉam in ten verses.[442] It is interesting to note that Nīlakēci uses the expression *civakati*, Skt. *śivagati*, to denote release in Caiṉam.[443] Mokkalaṉ draws her attention to the fundamental source of Buddhist doctrines. She is asked to meet the puttar himself at Kapilapuram (Kapilavastu?) and obtain from him a satisfactory answer to the several questions to which she demands an answer.

## 5.4.7. The Puttar was Defeated

Nīlakēci goes to meet the founder of Buddhism in Kapilapuram.[444] This is the second longest chapter in the book; it is only one verse shorter than the preceding chapter. The author changes the location of the puttar's birthplace from Kapilavastu in the Himalayas to Kapilapuram on a sea shore and then sarcastically refers to the latter as a convenient place to get enough fish to eat.[445] The puttar, who is referred to as *cukataṉ* (*sugata*) at the beginning, is also referred to as *cempaṭarkaḷ iṟaivaṉ*, "the lord of red robed persons". This could also be taken as a pun, a variant form of *cempaṭavarkaḷ iṟaivaṉ*, meaning "lord of fishermen". In describing the town, attention is pointedly drawn to the fact that there are numerous meat stalls and slaughter houses to meet the incessant demand from the Buddhist public.[446] The place of residence of a puttar is described as a mansion, to be consistent with his princely status. The men in the land of a puttar are said to look like *muḻai vāḻ puli*, "tigers living in caves".[447]

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[441] Ibid., commentary to pā 327.
[442] Ibid., pā 449–458.
[443] Ibid, pā 452, 453, 456. Even though this expression was used in the same sense by Kavuntiyaṭikaḷ, a Caiṉa nun, in chapter 10 of the *cilappatikāram*, it is a little ambiguous as it could denote the Śaiva concept of release.
[444] The author probably altered the name of the birthplace of the Buddha purposefully, to locate this place at a sea shore, so that he might not be accused of not knowing that Kapilavastu was far away from any sea shore.
[445] *nīlakēci, putta vāta ccarukkam*, pā 464.
[446] Ibid., pā 468.

Nīlakēci deplores the attitude of a puttar who preaches non-violence without condemning meat-eating. The commentator points out that a puttar himself, as represented in a *Jātaka* tale, implicitly accepted the doctrine of *kāraṇātpāpam*, which nevertheless is not accepted by his followers.[448] The technical terms *kāraṇātpāpam*, "evil, from having been the cause [of an act]", and *kāraṇātpuṇṇiyam*, merit, from having been the cause of an act, are noticed in the *nīlakēci* commentary for the first time, but the concepts were already in existence, as is also illustrated in the verses quoted in the same commentary. According to the *Jātaka* story of the Poisonous-Look Snake, a puttar was in one of his previous births born as a serpent that would kill others by merely looking at them. When he was dragged cruelly by a hunter who had caught hold of him, the *pōticattuvar*, out of compassion, did not open his eyes, lest the hunter should die instantaneously. Having closed his eyes, he suffered death at the hands of the hunter. This conduct of the *pōticattuvar* is a distinct illustration of the doctrine of kāraṇātpāpam. The pōticattuvar was not satisfied with just not intending to kill the hunter; he went further and avoided even indirectly causing his death by opening his eyes. This principle deserves to be extended to all living creatures and this should mean that the Buddhists must avoid contributing to the indirect killing of animals, which is the inevitable result of their own conduct.

The puttar is preaching the *mūṉṟu cāttiram* (*tripiṭaka*) to his disciples when Nīlakēci goes to meet him.[449] She asks him to give an exposition of his fundamental doctrines to give her an opportunity to examine them and refute them.[450] Accordingly, a puttar describes the fundamental doctrines as preached by him in nine verses.[451]

### 5.4.8. The puttar's Teaching, According to the *nīlakēci*

The ultimate realities are the *aiṅ kantam*, "five skandhāḥ". These are further sub-divided into various kinds. There is only of one kind *of uruvu*, "rūpa skandha". There are three kinds of *vētaṉai*, "vedanā skandha"; six kinds of *uṇarvu*, "viññāna skandha"; and six kinds of "samñā skandha". *ceṵal*, "samskāra skandha", is divided into *kusala* and *akusala*, which together form twenty different kinds. These are the main categories in his philosophy.

All physical objects otherwise called *aṭṭakam*, "*aṣṭaka*", belong to the class mentioned first as *uruvu*. *aṭṭakam* is an aggregat consisting of the four elements —earth, water, air and fire, with four sense qualities, colour, taste, smell and touch. These eight elements constitute the aggregate and are inseparable from one another. They together appear in one moment, and together disap-

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[447] Ibid., pā 465.
[448] Ibid., commentary to pā 470.
[449] Ibid., pā 477, 478.
[450] Ibid., pā 483.
[451] Ibid., pā 484– 493.

pear at the next moment, according to the momentary nature of reality. The earth element has the attribute of hardness, water fluidity, fire heat, and air circulation. These are the respective qualities of the four elements which are the ultimates.

*vētaṉai* means the element of feeling. It consists of three kinds: *iṉpam*, "pleasure", *tuṉpam*, "pain", and *iṭai*, "neutral feeling". These are respectively caused by the three kinds of *ceyal/viṉai: nal viṉai*, "right conduct", *tī viṉai*, "wrong conduct", and *aṉmai*, "neutral activity".

*uṇarvu /aṟivu,* "element of knowledge"consist of six kinds. The five sense-experiences togetherwith *maṉam,* "mind", form these six. For the same reason there are six kinds of *kuṟi*. The *ceyal* can be of three kinds: action according to thought, word, and deed. Besides these main divisions, activity is further capable of being sub-divided into various heads, according to right conduct or wrong conduct.

These five *kantam* appear together and are destroyed together in a moment. Their behaviour is analogous to the flame of a light, itself a kind of *aṭṭaka piṇṭam*, "an aggregate of the eight fold". Here also, the eight elements, by momentary appearance and disappearance, maintain the continuity of the flame. Similarly, the five *kantam*, by momentary appearance and disappearance, maintain the series and produce the appearance of continuity of things in the world. There is no such thing as a persistent thing.

The idea of permanent substance is due to ignorance of the nature of the reality. To talk of a fist, apart from fingers and to talk of a house, apart from building materials is to exhibit one's own lack of intellectual penetration into the nature of things. Similarly, apart from the five *kantam* which constitute the person who is referred to as *uyir* from a worldly point of view, there is no independent reality called soul. The aggregates of the five *kantaṅkaḷ* are intrinsically characterised by the following: *nilaiyā*, "*anityа*", *tuyarām*, "*dukha*", *acuvam*, "*asūchi*", and *uyir āṭṭam ilai*, "*anātma*". These are momentary and vanishing. They are by nature painful and impure. One who realises the true nature of reality, however he may act, will be free from evil, and will obtain *vīṭu*, "liberation". This, in short, is Buddhism.

Hearing a puttar's exposition of his philosophy, Nīlakēci begins to examine it critically and in detail. As the debate is long and drawn out, only two illustrations of Nīlakēci's polemics against a puttar's exposition will be given here. The illustrations deal with 1.the classification of *kucalākucalaṅkaḷ*, "good conduct and evil conduct" and 2. the four *āriyacattaikaḷ* "noble truths".

## 5.4.9. Polemic against the Buddhist Moral Code

According to a puttar, moral conduct is classified into three main heads, concerning body, speech, and mind. Killing, theft, and lust pertain to the body. Falsehood, backbiting, harsh words, and useless speech relate to speech. While desire, anger, and false faith relate to the mind. Altogether, there are ten

different kinds of evil conduct. These ten kinds of bad conduct are morally condemned according to Buddhist ethics.

Nīlakēci points out, that, among the ten evils which are to be avoided, drink and avarice do not find a place.[452] The commentator argues that killing committed under the influence of alcohol cannot be an evil in Buddhism as the perpetrator was not in his right senses.[453] As regards evil in thought, it is maintained that desire is sinful. If desire is evil, why does a puttar equip himself with all his paraphernalia, like an umbrella, sandals, a begging bowl, etc.? He condemns desire and yet he acquires all these things. In this way, one can argue that a rich householder, possessing every kind of luxury, does not have any desirey. Desire as such is not an evil. Its moral value depends upon the object desired. Desiring good must be good, and desiring bad must be bad. Instead of this, he maintains that desire is bad in itself. A pious Buddhist may desire to accept a puttar as his Lord, and desire to believe in his religion as truth. If his doctrine is true, desire in this case also must be an evil to be avoided.

The puttar considers anger as an evil in thought. But he leaves out other evils such as self-conceit and avarice.[454] He has shown by his own conduct that he condemns self-conceit. When a king, out of self-conceit, would not pay obeisance to a puttar until the latter accepted his challenge of bending a bow and discharging an arrow, a puttar was obliged to accept the challenge in order to cast away the king's self-conceit.[455] The puttar also removed the self-conceit from his friends and relatives by performing miracles through his powers, *iruttikaḷ* (*rddhi*). In order to remove the evil of avarice, he went to the house of a miser to beg for cakes, while the latter was eating his cakes in secrecy. What a puttar himself condemned as evil, he forgot to include in the list of evils in his moral code.

What a puttar calls false faith is not quite evident. If he merely states that his faith is true faith and all the rest false, then what he calls false faith is the result of mere prejudice. If right faith is what is based on ultimate truth, then everybody will accept that false faith should be avoided. In this latter sense, a puttar preaches false faith because his theory of momentariness is in conflict with his statement that he was born in a former birth as a hare. Of these two doctrines, one must be true and the other must be false. Obviously, if the first is true, then the second must be false.

The puttar mentions four kinds of evil speech: untruth, backbiting, harsh words, and useless words. So it is implied that barring these four, every other form of speech is accepted as good.[456] In that case spreading scandal about a

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[452] Ibid., pā 526– 550.

[453] Ibid., commentary to pā 526.

[454] Through avarice, a Buddhist can take away another man's property by force. Buddhism condemns only theft.

[455] This instance as well as the two following instances have been pointed out by the commentator in ibid., commentary to pā 529.

[456] Ibid., pā 531. The three subsequent observations were made by the commentator.

person may be truth-speaking. Instead of backbiting, one may insult a person to his face. One may offend an individual without using harsh words. All these are outside the class of evil conduct, according to a puttar's definition of moral evil.

According to Buddhist philosophy, any object in the world is but an aggregate of eight elements, besides which there is nothing called a thing. So when a thing is referred to by its name, it is an instance of false speech, since the word is used when there is no corresponding object referred to by the name. The puttar's preaching of philosophy itself would be a case of speaking untruth.[457]

There are many courses of conduct which are as bad as killing, and yet a puttar does not condemn them. Instead of commiting murder oneself, one may incite another person to murder, which is as bad as murder; and yet he admits killing only as a bodily evil, which would be applicable only to the actual deed of murder.[458] If he says that useless speech is evil, then he has to maintain that useful speech must be good. The course of conduct dictated by motives of selfishness and utility must come under an acceptable course of conduct. Killing, theft, and lust are described as evils by deed. How can one have these evils by deed without a corresponding motive in thought?[459] Hence the classification has no justification since the deed must necessarily presuppose the corresponding desire as a motive. Why does a puttar restrict evil by deed to these three kinds only? Are there not many other evils by deed, such as throwing thorns on the highway, destroying temples and sacred places, burning houses and pushing people into trenches? [460]

The puttar's defines killing as having to satisfy five conditions. In practice this would mean that there would be no evil of killing in the world because there would never be a case where all the five conditions are met. The five conditions are 1. the victim must be a living being, 2. the person who kills must know that the victim is a living being, 3. there must be the intention to kill, 4. there must be the act of killing, and 5. as a result of this act, the living being must die. Unless these five conditions are present together, there can be no killing.[461] It is clear that there can be no sin of killing as these five can never be found together either in time or space. Torture and violence of many kinds cannot be evils, as they do not meet most of these five conditions.

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[457] Ibid., pā 533.

[458] Ibid., commentary to pā 538.

[459] Ibid., pā 539.

The commentator introduces some interesting counter-arguments in this context. (i). As anger in mind is an evil in Buddhism, the deed of killing may not take place from a mind without anger. The commentator counters this, saying that killing could take place for many other motives like food, past time, etc., without anger. (ii) The deed of killing may not take place through speech as Buddhism condemns harsh words in speech. The commentator counters this, saying that *kaṭuñ col*, "harsh words" are very narrowly defined as words with a cutting edge, thereby implying that category is insufficient to prevent incitement of violence.

[460] Ibid., pā 540.

[461] Ibid., pā 541. The commentator elaborates the two subsequent observations.

According to this definition, it would not be murder to kill a stranger if you were under the impression that he was your enemy.[462] If it is necessary to have all these five conditions to constitute the sin of killing, then why is it that King Kālaha, when he attempted to attack the monk Kṣāntipāla, was swallowed up by *avīci*, " hell"?[463] This story indicates that even the thought is harmful. This is certainly the proper attitude to be taken in the matter of killing, theft, and lust. A person who has the intention of committing any one of these three, but is unable to carry out the act for lack of opportunity, must be considered morally guilty of the act. Whereas, according to a puttar's elaborate definition of murder, every actual case of killing can be exempted from the charge of murder.

The puttar says that mere enjoyment will not produce any *karman*. This is a dangerous doctrine, for one can maintain that drinking and whoring, since they are mere enjoyment, cannot be condemned as moral evils.[464] One can walk away with another person's property under the mistaken impression that it is one's own, and it will not be theft. Similarly, one can have sexual intercourse with a woman who is not one's own wife in the belief that she is one's own wife. All these exceptions are pointed out in order to prove the defective conception of the moral ideal enunciated by the Buddhists.

### 5.4.9. Polemics Against the Four Noble Truths

A puttar maintains that everything is painful. Technically, this would mean the other three truths are also painful. Then, there would be only one class of noble truth, that everything is painful. While preaching that everything is painful, a puttar talks of three kinds of *vēdanā*, "feeling": pleasurable feeling, painful feeling, and neutral feeling. If everything is painful, what justification is there for speaking of pleasurable feeling, and neutral feeling?[465] The doctrine that everything is painful must imply that all actions are sinful. There can be no good action, for, if there were any such, its result must be happiness and not misery. When all is misery, it must be the fruit of sinful karman and, consequently, that is the only kind of karman found in life. If that is so, what is the use of preaching dharma to others if there is no chance of any good action taking place?[466] Hence this doctrine ends in self-contradiction.

If everything is impure, what is the meaning of wearing garlands of flowers, and using scents and sandalwood paste? If everything is impure, these are no different from filth.[467] The puttar says that everything is impure and yet holds

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[462] Ibid., pā 543. The commentator explains that a criminal wanted to kill his enemy but did not kill him. The criminal had not envisaged killing a stranger but he nevertheless murdered him. So a Buddhist can escape blame, even though a murder has been perpetrated.
[463] Ibid., pā 546. This story was quoted also in *kuṇṭalakēci vāta ccarukkam*, pā 219.
[464] Ibid., pā 547. While the pā mentions whoring only, the commentator adds drinking also.
[465] Ibid., pā 554.
[466] Ibid., pā 556.
[467] Ibid, pā 557.

that his scriptures and the code of morals and what he eats are all pure.[468] Is this not a contradiction? The puttar's disciples, ignorant of the significance of this doctrine, find fault with the Caiṉar for saying that it is no use trying to purify the body, for bodily purity is no purity, and the body being by nature impure can never be purified permanently. If nothing is pure, then religious discipline will not lead one to any path of purity. If there is no real difference between scented sandalwood and dirty filth, why is it that a puttar prefers the former and rejects the latter?[469]

The puttar says that everything vanishes and has only momentary existence. This would also formally reduce all categories to one class of impermanent things. The puttar's metaphysical doctrine is contradicted by the behaviour of people in society. The Buddhist concept would mean that at every moment one's property and other possessions are destroyed, but people lament the loss of their property only when it is confiscated by the king, or carried away by a robber, or destroyed by fire.[470] No one believes in the loss of property as a result of this metaphysical doctrine. If this doctrine is true, there is no meaning in offering religious worship or practising charity towards the needy. The puttar's own suffering, as *pōticattuvar* [*bodhisattva*] in previous births, will be equally aimless and absurd if the doer of good does not enjoy the fruits thereof. Is it because he was conciousness of this that a puttar gave away his own sons as slaves without any compunction?[471] Is it because there is nothing which a puttar calls his own, that he did not heed the lamentations of his wife when his sons were gifted away?

The puttar talks of love and mercy to human creatures, but his mercy is often misplaced. When it is pointed out, that, according to his *kaṇapaṅkam*, "momentariness (theory)", there can be no society of human beings, no human personality, no scripture, no action, and no fruit thereof, a puttar tries to meet these objections by postulating what he calls *toṭarcci* (*santāna*), a series of conscious states and *vācaṉai* (*vāsanā*), a kind of inter-connecting link between the various elements of the series. But the *santāna* and *vāsanā* are in direct conflict with his doctrine of impermanence.[472]

The puttar's concept of no-soul is taken up in this connection. He maintains that there is no persistent entity either in objective things or in human personality, but he accepts some kind of self from the worldly point of view. This is also self-contradiction. If a puttar says that the word self is merely a conventional name for *santāna* itself, then the series cannot be called self. When a puttar says that he denies self from the absolute point of view, and concedes its reality from the worldly point of view, he adopts the line of argument characteristic of *anekāntavāda*, "doctrine of many sidedness", which means that he

[468] Ibid., pā 558.
[469] Ibid., pā 559–561.
[470] Ibid., pā 563.
[471] Ibid., pā 565.
[472] Ibid., pā 566. The text mentions the principle of exemption while the commentary elucidates it.

summarily rejects his own point of view.[473] It is impossible for him to explain recognition of experience from past births without postulating some kind of persisting soul.[474] To dismiss that recognition as illusory knowledge would be inconsistent with his own words, for example, when he describes how he was a hare in a former birth.

### 5.4.10. A Note on a Buddhist Verse from the *pimpiśāra katai*

*ulumpiṉi vaṉattu ḷoṇkuḻai ttēvi*
*valampaṭu maruṅkul vaṭunō yāṟāma*
*lāṉṟō ṉavvaḻit tōṉṟiṉa ṉātali*
*ṉīṉṟō ḷēḻānā ḷiṉṉuyir vaittāḷ*[475]

Pimpiśāra [Bimbisāra] was a contemporary of a puttar, the Lord. He supported and patronised a puttar. But he fell victim to his son Ajātaśatru's conspiracy. There seems to have been a Buddhist narrative poem about him, which has not survived. A stray verse from it has survived however in the commentary of the Jain *nīlakēci,* where the Jain commentator uses it in polemics against Buddhism.

A translation of the relevant verse, quoted at the beginning of this section:

"As the Wise Man was born through the right waist, without injuring the queen, with shining ear-rings, at Lumbini forest, the mother was able to live well for seven days".

Kuṇṭalakēci praises the uniqueness of the buddha, referring to his miraculous birth from his mother's side rather than her womb. Nīlakēci turns the argument around to argue that a puttar was responsible for his mother's early death.

The commentator of *nīlakēci* quotes from two other sources to blame a puttar for matricide.

1. The account about the mother of a puttar remaining barely alive for six days after childbirth and then dying on the seventh day does not just accur in the story of Gautama buddha, but is also found in the story of all a puttar. The commentator must have obtained this information from the Buddhists themselves.

2. He quotes a *veṇpā* metre verse as a *lōka vacaṉam* (proverb) according to which a puttar's mother, a crab, a pearl oyster shell, a plantain, a bamboo, a viper and a spider die not by the spear or sword, but through conception.

Nīlakēci uses this verse to show that a puttar does not even show any compassion towards his own mother.

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[473] Ibid., pā 568.
[474] Ibid., pā 569–571.
[475] *nīlakēci*, camayativākaramāmuṉivar uraiyuṭaṉ, mutaṟ patippu 1936, pā 190 urai.

### 5.4.11. Conclusion

In the *nīlakēci*, even though the heroine is said to be a former demoness from Paḻaiyaṉūr in *teṉ ticai*, "southern direction", all the four debates take place in North India proper, north of the Vindhyas. By the poet's time, Āntiram Buddhism had vanished. It is a little surprising that he did not locate any of the debates in Ilaṅkai, where Buddhists claim to have preserved pure Buddhism. One of the reasons he avoided Ilaṅkai might be that he thought that Buddhism came to Ilaṅkai long after a puttar's time.

Looking at the background to the religious situation in South India in the 10th century and the 14th century, the appearance of works like the *kuṇṭalakēci* and the *nīlakēci,* and then the commentary to the *nīlakēci,* appears to have been unfortunate from the point of view of the welfare of the two religions. They were both minority religions that received some patronage from the Cōḻa kings. The Caiṉar, who probably also received help from Karnāṭakam, where Caiṉam was important up to about the 12th century, prospered, as illustrated mainly by their literary activities during the Cōḻa age. There was also a phenomenon called Cōḻa Buddhism. But by the early 10th century, Buddhism was the dominant religion under the Sinhalese kings in Ilaṅkai. So these religions might have been receiving support from neighbouring lands. They were probably fighting it out for royal patronage.

## 5.5. Jain Polemic against Buddhism in the *tirukkalampakam*

### *Āḷvāppiḷḷai Vēluppiḷḷai*

### 5.5.1. Introduction

The *tirukkalampakam*[476] is a Jain literary work that reflects a transformed Caiṉam. It had taken over many of the attributes of the "Hindu" religion[477] and at the same time modified them to suit the Jain thinking. The designation "Hindu" religion is used here with reservation. There was no such concept during that period. Neither do terms like the Vedic religion, the brahmanical religion, the Paurāṇic religion and the *bhakti*, Tamiḻ *patti*, religion appear to be comprehensive enough. The Tamils of that period used terms like *caivam*,

[476] This study is based on the second edition of Centamiḻ publication 22 in Maturai in 1951 of the *tirukkalampakam*, authored by Utīcittēvar, and its commentary, as examined by Mu. Irākavaiyaṅkār. Vide utīcittēvar, *tirukkalampakamūlamum uraiyum* [Tirukkalampakam and commentary], mu irākavaiyaṅkār paricōtanai, iraṇṭām patippu [second edition], centamilp piracuram [Centamiḻ Publication] 22 (maturai: tamiḻ caṅkam, 1951).

[477] The usage of the term Hinduism in the modern sense bacame popular only in the last century. Vide *Hinduism Reconsidered*, Edited by G D Sontheimer, H Kulke (New Delhi: Manohar, 1991 (1989)).

"Śaivism" and *vaiṇavam*, "Vaiṣṇavism", but there was no single all-embracing term. The text uses the word *puttar* to denote a puttar as well as the Pauttar, "Buddhists", in different contexts. The text uses the *arukaṉ tiruvaṟam*, "*arhat*'s sacred *dharma*", for Caiṉam. This transformed Caiṉam remains vociferously critical about some mythical aspects of Caivam. Pauttam is the only religion referred to by name as *cākkiyam* [*śākiya*] in its polemical writings.

The core of this chapter will be in three parts. The first part will deal with the author, the work and the date. The second part will deal with the transformation of Caiṉam through the influences of the patti religion, as reflected in the text. The third part will deal with polemics against Buddhism.

## 5.5.2. The Author, the Work and the Date

Utīcittēvar is the name of the author. The manuscripts of his work record a *pāyiram*, "introduction", which mentions *vaṭapāl moḻitaṉai maṇanta tēvaṉ*, "the Tēvaṉ who wedded the language of the North". *utīci* seems to be a derivative from the Sanskrit *udīcī*, "north". The description in the *pāyiram* could be a pointer to his name as well as to his scholarship. The language of the North could be referring to Prakrit, Sanskrit and Pāli. The author was not a monk, as was the case with many other Jain authors in Tamiḻ. He is expressly referred to as *cāvaka nilaiyōṉ*,[478] "he of the status of a householder" and as a chieftain of Ārppākkai of Āraṇi region in northern Toṇṭaimaṇṭalam. He was learned in conducting disputations in Tamiḻ. He is mentioned as *cākkiya kuṭāraṉ*,[479] "he who is an axe against the Śākyas". The designation Śākyas refer to the Buddhists. According to the edition used here, the name and the date of the commentator is not known, even though his commentary shows that he was a good scholar in Tamiḻ, and well-versed in Caiṉam. Kamil V Zvelebil[480] mentions the name of the commentator as Aṉantakavi, which he may have found in some other edition. There is no clue to the date of the commentator.

The title of the work has two elements, *tiru* and *kalampakam*. The *kalampakam* is most probably a compound formed from *kalappu* and *akam*. Its primary meaning is a "mixture", "combination", etc., while its secondary meaning is a "literary genre", composed of different kinds of stanzas and of different themes. The earliest *kalampakam* in Tamiḻ is the *nantikkalampakam*, a praise poem on Nandivarman III, a Pallava king of the 9th century AD. Many *kalampakams* of the later period praise gods of different localities and are named after the localities as the *kācikkalampakam*, the *maturaikkalampakam* and the *tiruvāmāttūrkkalampakam*. One, the *aṟam vaḷartta mutaliyār kalampakam*, in which a minister or a high official of the Vijayanagar kingdom was praised,

[478] utīcittēvar, *tirukkalampakamūlamum uraiyum*, pāyiram.
[479] Loc. cit.
[480] *LTL*, p. 725. This lexicon mentions other editions of the *tirukkalampakam*. The text only of this book was first published by Pākupali Nayiṉār as early as 1883. Another Caiṇa scholar, Campat Rāv Nayiṉār, brought out an edition of text and commentary in 1935. Irākavaiyaṅkār's first edition appeared in 1907.

seems to be an exception[481]. The *kalampakam* under study here is intriguing in its claim to be the *tirukkalampakam*.

The word *tiru* in Tamiḻ is equivalent to *śrī* in Sanskrit. There is another Jain work also called *tirunūṟṟantāti*, where *tiru* is used in a similar context. One of the meanings of *tiru* is "sacredness", "holiness", and it may be that the authors of these two works considered Caiṉam sacred and holy par excellence as a religion. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the author uses the compound *tiruvaṟam* in stanzas 9, 67 and 72. As every Indian-based religion had begun to use the word *aṟam*, "*dharma*", in a wide sense, the Caiṉar probably felt a need to elevate their *aṟam* as *tiruvaṟam*. The literary genre of *kalampakam* has normally about 110 stanzas in *antāti*, "end-beginning", form, where the last syllable, word or phrase of the preceding stanza is repeated as the beginning of the following verse. The themes included also vary a great deal from *puya vakuppu*, "shoulder description", enumerating the achievements of a heroic king, to *tavam*, "penance", of a pious individual, to *mataṅku*, "street dance", by an attractive female. Utīcittēvar has chosen this literary genre to praise *the arukaṉ*, "*arhat*" and to expound Jain ideology.

There is some controversy about the date of this work.[482] The two dates suggested are the 10th century AD or the 14–15th century AD. The early date was suggested by Ca Vaiyāpuri Piḷḷai,[483] who usually suggests late dates for classical Tamiḻ texts. The date of the 15th century was suggested by Mu Aruṇācalam.[484] Kamil Zvelebil inclines towards the latter view, but mentions the 14th century also.[485] The present author feels that the 14th century—the date of the *nīlakēci* commentary—could also be the date of the *tirukkalampakam* which reflects anti-Buddhist sentiment among the Tamiḻ Caiṉar. There is no evidence that Caiṉam of the 10th century had reached the stage of transformation, as reflected in the text. Utīcittēvar also most probably made use of the *kalampakam* genre for praising Caiṉam only after this form became popular among the Tamiḻ poets. There is no evidence for Buddhism among the Tamils after the 14th century and the author of the text would not have wasted energy on a lost cause in the 15th century.

### 5.5.3. Caiṉam Transformed through Influences of the patti Religion

Caiṉam seems to have incorporated many of the attributes of the gods in the patti religion which had become very popular among the Tamils. The invocation stanza itself and the last stanza present a form of monotheism, as in

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[481] *LTL*, p. 725. According to Zvelebil information about this lost work is preserved in *tamiḻ nāvalar caritai* 22.
[482] Ibid., p. 725.
[483] Loc. cit. The author mentions the primary source as Vaiyāpuri Pillai, *History …*, p. 135
[484] Loc. cit.
[485] Loc. cit.

Śaivism and Vaiṇavam. Although the Caiṉar have twenty-four *tīrttaṅkarar*, "ford-makers", associated with different colours like gold, green, white, red and blue, all of them are said to constitute one *teyvam*, Skt. *daiva*, "godly dimension". Utīcittevar prefers this neuter gender word in the invocation. He uses *tēvar*, Skt *deva*, "god" in the last stanza but there also he says that even though several people have taught the Jain *dharma* at different times, they have taught the same *dharma* and that all of them should be considered as constituting one divinity. The commentator glosses both these words as *cuvāmi*, Skt. *svāmi*, "lord". The very first stanza uses the expression oru *taṉi kkaṭavuḷ*, "one unique god", for the Jain *arukaṉ*, Skt. *arhat*. He is also credited with the creation, preservation and destruction of the world. The fourth stanza says

*nīyalāṉ maṟṟiyāvar paṭaitt aḷiṭṭ aḷikkum iyalpiṉārē*[486]
"If not you, who has the nature of creation, preservation and destruction?"

The verse reasons out that the world came into being when his scripture appeared, that it survives when his scripture prevails and that it will disappear when his scripture disappears.

Many attributes of Civaṉ are used for the *arukaṉ*. The very first stanza says *civaṉu nī*,[487] "you are also Civaṉ". This could be interpreted by the Caiṉar as meaning that the *arukaṉ* was the auspicious one. It is interesting to note that the concept of Civaṉ as the God, encompassing the five elements, the Sun, the Moon and the souls, put forward by the advocate of Śaivism in the twenty-seventh chapter of the *maṇimēkalai*,[488] has been made the concept of the *arukaṉ* in stanza 99. Two mythical allusions from Caivam—Civaṉ reducing to dust the Indian Cupid who was aiming flower-arrows at him, and Civaṉ killing the god of death who was bent on killing living beings—were very common in Śaiva devotional poetry of the *tēvāram* from the 7th to the 9th centuries AD. The very first verse here praises the arukaṉ as

*pū meṉ kaṇai turantu ----poru mataṉai nīṟāka nōkkiṉai*[489]
"you looked at the fighting Cupid (to burn him) to dust ...aiming soft flowers as arrows", and
*uyir vēṭṭ alamarūuṅ kolai māṟāk koṭiya veṅkūṟṟiṉaiyuṅ kutittaṉai*[490]
" you overcame the harsh Death, cruelly bent on killing, swirling around looking for living beings".

The descriptions here have to be explained so as to fit the *arukaṉ* who has trancended love and death. But it seems fairly certain that the figurative language was taken from mythical allusions to Civaṉ. Stanza 37 refers to the

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[486] utīcittēvar, *tirukkalampakamūlamum uraiyum*, pā 4.
[487] Ibid., pā 1.
[488] cittalai cāttaṉār, *maṇimēkalai* 1981, pa 27, lines 89–92.
[489] utīcittēvar, *tirukkalampakamūlamum uraiyum*, pā 1.
[490] Loc. cit.

destruction of Cupid in terms very similar to Śaiva mythological terms. Civaṉ burnt the Cupid to dust through fire emitted from his third eye. The allusion in the stanza,

*kaṇ mūṉru tōṟṟiy ikal kāmaṉ uṭal poṭiy ākak kaṇaṉṟāy*[491]
"You produced the third eye and burnt to dust the Cupid's body",

normally refers to Civaṉ. The commentator had to explain the phenomenon of the *arukaṉ*'s third eye as the perfect knowledge. One of the Jain terms for the stage of liberation, as can be seen in stanza 53, is *civakati*, Skt. *śivagati*, "the auspicious stage". The term is ambigious because it could also refer to the stage of Civaṉ. *kayilai*, Skt. *kailāsa*, seems to be another focal point for the Śaivas and the Caiṉar. According to Śaiva mythology, Kayilai is the permanent abode of Civaṉ. According to the Caiṉar, Iṭapanātar, Skt. Ṛṣabhanātha, the first *tīrttaṅkarar*, attained liberation in Kayilai. Stanza 74 refers to the *arukaṉ* as

*kayilāyameṉun tirumalaimēl uṟaikiṉṟavar*[492]
"he abides in the sacred mount called Kailāsa".

Stanza 109 describes elaborately how he sat on the Kayilai recalling descriptions of Civaṉ, according to Śaiva mythology.

The *arukaṉ* is ascribed the attributes of Piramā, "*Brahmā*". *ticaimukaṉ*, "he who has directions as faces" in stanza 5 and *kalaimakaḷ kāntar*, "husband of the goddess of learning" in stanza 6 are well-known attributes of Piramā.[493] According to Śaiva mythology, Civaṉ plucked one of the five heads of Piramā and then the latter came to have four faces, facing four directions. According to the fifth stanza,

*niṉṉaiy allāṉ—mayal koṇṭa vakaṉ ñālan ticai mukaṉ eṉṟevvāṟu vaḻaṅkumāṟē*[494]
"not referring to you—how could the confused broad earth call (somebody else) god with directions as faces ?".

The verse reasons that the *arukaṉ*, through his omniscience, knows everything in all the four directions. The sixth stanza calls him the husband of the goddess of learning because he appeared on a lotus flower and enlightened the seven worlds, and could be considered the lord of the goddess responsible for the eighteen languages and soft and sweet words. Words like *vētam*, "the Vedas", and *nāṉku maṟai*, "the four scriptures", have been associated with the Brahmanical religion from ancient times. There is a strong tradition that Brahmā revealed the four Vedas. The twenty-fifth verse calls the *arukaṉ*, *vētamōti*,[495]

[491] Loc. cit.
[492] Ibid., pā 74.
[493] Ibid., pā 5, 6.
[494] Ibid., pā 5.
[495] Ibid., pā 25.

"you who recite the Vedas". Many examples can be cited from the *tēvāram* where Civaṉ is described as *vētamōti*. The next stanza particularises the word *vētam*, when it refers to *ēta muṉintiyal vēta moḻinta paramparaṉ*, "the Supreme Being who had spoken out the Veda, which removes shortcomings". *paramparaṉ* is used as an epithet of Tirumāḷ, "Viṣṇu", in the Vaiṇava devotional poetry of the *nālāyira tivviya pirapantam*. The third stanza claims *nāṉ maṟai* for the Caiṉar, when it claims,

*nāṉkuraittāṉ māṟuraittārai murukku maṟai vaiya mūṉṟiṉukkum vēṟuraittāṉ*[496]
"he spoke, common to all the three worlds, the four scriptures, which dispel the darkness of contrary teachings".

Stanza 75 refers to the *arukaṉ as nāṉmaṟai nūl moḻintavar*.[497] This description is ambigious in that it could be interpreted to suit Caiṉam, even though it would then refer to Piramā or Civaṉ. Stanza 90 mentions *tūya nāṉmaṟait talaivaṉ*, " the chief of the four pure scriptures", where purity, from the Jain point of view, might exclude the four Vedas of the Brahmins. Stanza 78 adopts a new designation for the Jain scripture, the compound *vētākamam*, Skt. *vedāgama*, the scripture of Hindu religion.

The *arukaṉ* has also been given many of the other attributes of Viṣṇu. The classical Tamiḻ name for him of Tirumāḷ is given to the *arukaṉ* in the twenty-first stanza and in the thirty-third stanza. The commentator explains this epithet as a god who possess *muttilakṣmi*, "goddess of wealth of liberation". The description

*māya ccakaṭañ citaintu cintav utaikkun tiruvaṭi*[498]
" the sacred feet, kicking the tricky cart, to collapse and fall"

recalls many such descriptions of Tirumāḷ in the *nālāyira tivviya pirapantam*,[499] but here the twenty-second stanza applies it to the *arukaṉ*, with a slight modification: the tricky cart is portrayed as referring to the *karman* leading souls through the four stages of existence. Stanzas 28 to 32 have taken many attributes of Tirumāḷ, applied them to the *arukaṉ*, and try to explain them through Jain thinking. Many of these attributes belong to Kaṇṇaṉ, Skt. Kṛṣṇa, incarnation of Tirumāḷ. Kaṇṇaṉ is said to have swallowed the world and kept it in his mouth. Stanza 28 says that the *arukaṉ*, through his omniscience, took the world inside him (encompassed it) and kept it without letting it out of him. The next stanza raises the question *nīyallāl iññālam uṇṭār maṟṟiyār*[500] "if not you, who was the other who swallowed the world?" The author seems to feel that *the arukaṉ* alone, and not Kaṇṇaṉ, *should* be credited with this miracle.

[496] Ibid., pā 3.
[497] Ibid., pā 75.
[498] Ibid., pā 22.
[499] This is the anthology of the entire Tamiḻ *vaiṇava patti* texts of the *āḻvar*, dated between 6th to 9th century.
[500] utīcittēvar, *tirukkalampakamūlamum uraiyum*, pā 29.

The theme of the next verse is in a similar vein when it says that if it were you who measured all the worlds in all the three times, it is surprising that you were not referred to as *ulakaḷanta neṭumāl*, [501]

"Tirumāḷ who measured the world". Stanza 52 refers to *ulakaḷanta mukil vaṇṇaṉ*,[502] "the cloud-coloured god who measured the world". This description is very common for Tirumāḷ. In the particular context here, it is interpreted by the commentator as referring to Nēmināta Tīrttaṅkarar who measured the world through minute atoms. According to Vaiṇava mythology, Tirumāḷ took a gigantic form, piercing through the clouds, to crush his *acura*, Skt. *asura*, "demon", enemies. The description *neṭuvicumpiṉ mukaṭuruvi nimirnta māl*[503] normally refers to Tirumāḷ who stretched himself to pierce the top of the high sky. In stanza 31, it is applied to the *arukaṉ* who once destroyed incomparable *karman* enemies. The same stanza refers to *pāṟkaṭal vaḷarnta parantāmaṉ*,[504] "the Lord of heaven who was sleeping in the milky ocean". The Skt. *parandhāmen* means "heaven", and the *Tamiḻ Lexicon* quotes the *piṅkalantai nikaṇṭu* of about the 8th century AD that gives *parantāmaṉ* as a designation for Tirumāḷ.[505] The stanza here uses this title for the *arukaṉ* with a new interpretation that the milky ocean is the mind filled with the sea of excellent qualities of the monks. Stanza 32 mentions *malarmakaḷ kāntaṉ*,[506] "the husband of the goddess on the flower", which refers to *tirumāl*, the husband of Ilakkumi, Skt. Lakṣmī, in the patti literature. The stanza qualifies the phrase as *māṟilāta*,[507] "changeless", and the commentator brings in Jain thinking to interpret the entire reference as the husband of the changeless state of the lady of liberation. Stanza 46 says *tirumārpiṉ malarmaṭantai vīṟṟiruppa*,[508] "while the goddess on the flower sits majestically on the sacred chest". This is also a common allusion to Tirumāḷ, but here the commentator has to explain that the lady is a personification of liberation. The allusion in stanza 46, *kaṭal alaṟak kaṭaintamirtam aḷitta kō*,[509] "the chief who churned the ocean to give ambrosia" derives from Vaiṇava mythology and occurs in the *nālāyira tivviya pirapantam*.[510] The stanza here reinterprets this allusion to mean the churning of the ocean of suffering of the *karman*-fettered celestials and the gift of liberation.

The early Jain pantheon and Jain thinking most probably had no female element in them. The first attempt in Tamiḻ literature to portray final beatitiude as the freed soul embracing that *mutti*, Skt. *mukti*, "liberation", stage, personified as a lady, can be cited from the *cīvakacintāmaṇi*.[511] There are a few places

[501] Ibid., pā 30.
[502] Ibid., pā 52.
[503] Ibid., pā 31.
[504] utīcittēvar, *tirukkalampakamūlamum uraiyum*, pā 52.
[505] *TL* 4, p. 2479.
[506] utīcittēvar, *tirukkalampakamūlamum uraiyum*, pā 32.
[507] Loc. cit.
[508] Ibid., pā 46.
[509] Loc. cit.
[510] Anthology of Tamiḻ Vaiṇava devotional poetry.

where *the arukaṉ* is said to be in a perpetual embrace with the *mutti* lady. Stanza 39 is outwardly erotic, when it says

*meyy elām uṭaṉṟaḻuvu kēvalap pōkamaṅkaiyait taḻuviy iṉpamē puriyum aṉpar*[512]

"the lover who longs for pleasure in embracing the pure knowledge courtesan, who engulfs the entire body".

The Jain thinking comes in only through the reference to the pure knowledge. But the more interesting aspect from the present point of view is the presentation of a goddess of *citti*,[513] Skt. *siddhi*, "success, realisation, attainment". It is interesting that the *Tamiḻ Lexicon* quotes the meaning of final liberation from a usage in a late Jain text. The concept of *citti* in the present text could include both meanings and may be a little more. In fact, the concept of *citti* seems to be a substitution for the concept of *cakti*, skt. *śakti* in patti poetry and in mediaeval Caiva and Vaiṇava philosophical speculations. The very first stanza frames a question,

*cittiy eṉuṅ kaṉṉiyuṭaṉ māṟāta pēriṉpa makiḻvatu niṉ kuṇaṉāmō*[514]

"Is it your nature to enjoy unending bliss with the virgin called Citti?".

Stanza 34 refers to the *arukaṉ's* shoulders embracing the pure creeper called *citti*. It is interesting that the commentator glosses the word *citti* here with *mutti*. Stanza 101 is very interesting in that it describes Citti's attributes in the following terms:

"she possesses in abundant measure the enlightened man's love.
She is the mother who has given birth to everything.
She remains a perpetual virgin.
She is foster-mother for the growth of *aṟam*.
The variety in the six religions appears from her.
She is the unique lamp for the living world.
She is the consort for unending beatitude.
She is the enemy for further rebirths.
She is the divine foster-mother who secretes and grants abundant grace to all living beings.
She is a chaste and honest lady.
She is a creeper of pleasure.
She is the thriving bud of wisdom.
She is the medicine to cure the illness of passion, arising from the five senses".[515]

The author, in the last line of the same stanza, identifies the Citti as the feet of the *cittar*, Skt. *siddha*, "perfected one".

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[511] tiruttakatēvar, *cūvaka cintamaṇi*, u vē cāminātaiyar patippu (ceṉṉai: tiyākarāja vilācam, 1969). This text is a Caiṉa Tamiḻ narrative poem, dated in the ninth century.
[512] utīcittēvar, *tirukkalampakamūlamum uraiyum*, pā 39.
[513] Ibid., pā 1.
[514] Loc. cit.
[515] Ibid., pā 101.

The *arukaṉ* is identified with Murukaṉ, the god with whom the Tamils claim special affinity, in stanza 109, where he is said to have the strength of wrath to reduce to dust the *viṉai acurar*, "demons of *karman*", through his big lance, formed of three blades.[516] Though the author seems to have taken much from the patti religion, he was critical of some of its aspects. The commentator uses the term *mittiyāvāti*, Skt. *mithyāvādin*, "liar", to denote the advocate of other religions while the text does not use any single term. The commentator mentions explicitly the following 22 stanzas, numbers 8, 12, 15, 24, 27, 28, 54, 58, 60, 64, 67, 68, 72, 77, 79, 84, 88, 89, 99, 102 106 and 107, as dealing with criticisms about *mittiyāvāti*s. There are a few other stanzas as well, but they are not explicitly mentioned by the commentator. For example, stanza 7 deals with the weakness of the *ēkāntavāti*,[517] Skt. *ēkāntavādin*, "an advocate of one point of view". This term is Jain usage for non-Caiṉar whom the Caiṉar accuse of having a narrow outlook. The *arukaṉ* has revealed that all things in the world are permanent in one sense and impermanent in appearance in another sense. The non-Jain systems could not realise this truth of Caiṉam. The *arukaṉ* is said to possess a wheel. The terms used for the wheel in this text are *āḻi*;[518] *tikiri*;[519] *nēmi*,[520] Skt. *nemi*; and *cakkaram*, Skt. *cakra*. There are 12 stanzas mentioning one of these terms in connection with him. It may be that only Nēmināṭar, as one of the forms of the *arukaṉ*, was so closely associated with the wheel. Stanza 24 distinguishes the Jain wheel as *aṟaṅkoḷ nēmi*,[521] Skt. *dharma cakra*. The stanza criticises Kaṇṇaṉ along with others who have used the wheel as a destructive weapon to shed blood. Stanza 79 appears to be a critique of the iconography of many deities when it says how the pious can choose as *a vīrar*,[522] "hero", deities who have many hands bearing weapons, who have many eyes emitting fire, and who bear many heads and fight battles. There are a number of stanzas which criticise the gods of the patti religion when stories from the *Purāṇas* speak about their passion for their consorts. Stanza 19 distinguishes the *arukaṉ* as never submitting to the eye-arrows of women with beautiful breasts. Stanza 54 elaborates this allusion and refers to such gods as *pittēṟāv ayarpavar*,[523] "those with languor, after an upsurge of madness". Stanza 86 says that everybody in the world would be a *vīrar*, "hero", if a god who could not resist the charms of the females were to be considered a hero. Stanza 88 could be a direct shot at Civaṉ when it asks whether the pious Caiṉar could accept the divinity of those with matted hair, pining for women. Stanza 107 calls the *arukaṉ*, *caṅkarar*,[524] Skt. *śaṅkara*,

[516] Ibid., pā 104.
[517] Ibid., pā 7.
[518] Ibid., pā 31, 35, 77.
[519] Ibid., pā 46.
[520] Ibid., pā 24.
[521] Ibid., pā 79.
[522] Ibid., pā 54.
[523] Ibid., pā
[524] Ibid., pā

"dispenser of happiness", a common epithet of Civaṉ, but it distinguishes the former as not being deluded into wandering through cemeteries with corpses, in the company of unstable ghosts.

### 5.5.4. Polemic against Buddhism

Kamil V Zvelebil has characterised the *tirukkalampakam* as an anti-Buddhist polemical work[525]. Buddhism is the only religion referred to by name in the text. The non-Jain religions have generally been grouped together and the commentator of the *tirukkalampakam* uses the common designation of *mittiyāvātam* to refer to them. *mittiyāvātam* and *ēkāntavātam* also include the Buddhists. The Buddhists are mentioned explicitly in four stanzas: 66, 72, 73 and 91. Stanza 102 mentions a religious group that is set on a loathsome stage and the commentator interprets the allusion as referring to the Buddhists.

There are a few other stanzas which could be cited as referring to the Buddhists also. Stanza 15 lists four concepts on the nature of final liberation. The fourth concept *piṟavātu cittaḷaveṉpār*, "those who remain enlightened, without further rebirth", could be cited as referring to the Buddhist concept. The stanza concludes that intelligent people will adhere to the Jain concept, whatever others might say. Stanza 83 appeals to those who believe that some of those, who are born as animals and suffer unsteadiness and fall are, in fact, the celestials and have unfailing compassion to protect others, to praise instead the *arukaṉ* who is never born again and who protects everybody. The criticism in this stanza can apply to the Buddhist *Jātaka* tales, which relate the previous lives of a puttar.

Stanza 102 deals with *campiratam*, Skt. *sam-bhṛta*, "that which is caused; effect, result". It is a constituent theme in *kalampakam* which apparently relates the wondrous performances of a magician but which really signifies ordinary things. The magician claims that he is capable of enclosing, in a casket, the *nāvalantīvu*, Skt. *Jambudvīpa*, "the island of Nāval" and of forcing the mythical northern Mēru mountain through the hole of a needle. He claims to have acquired a new trick through his association with devoted Caiṉar. He can speak, enabling the Jain *aṟam* to pass through the ears of non-Jain religious advocates. The relevant portion referring to the non-Jain religious advocates runs thus:

> *kupatattē taṅkum ārva mikkuṭaiyavap pātakattōr kaṇa mutalākuñ camayavātikaḷ*[526]
>
> "religious advocates beginning with the group of grievous sinners who are extremely keen to stay on in a loathsome stage".

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[525] *LTL*, p. 725.

[526] utīcittēvar, *tirukkalampakamūlamum uraiyum*, pā 102.

The commentator glosses it at this point as

*pāvikaḷāṉa puttar kūṭṭamutalāṉa ēkāntavātikaḷ*[527]
"one-end advocates beginning with the Buddhist saṃgha who are sinners".

It may be useful to keep in mind the nuances of meaning of two key words used in the text. The Tamiḻ Lexicon glosses *pātakam*, Skt. *pātaka*, as grivous sin, heinous crime.[528] The expression *kupatam* literally means "*ku* stage". It may be an abbreviated form. The commentator gives the form *kuccitapatam*.[529] The Tamiḻ Lexicon glosses *kuccitam*, Skt. *kutsita*, as contemptibleness, despicableness and loathsomeness.[530]

Stanza 72 deals with the theme of *maṟam*,[531] "valour, bravery". When this occurs as a theme in *kalampakam*, it describes the refusal by *maṟavars* to give a girl of their clan to a king in marriage.[532] There is a Tamiḻ expression *maṟakkuṭi*, which is glossed in the *Tamiḻ Lexicon* as warrior tribe and the *maṟava* caste.[533] The literary theme seems to refer to a warrior tribe. The chief of the warrior tribe is usually mentioned as challenging the royal family for its impertinence in asking for the hand of a warrior, tribal girl in marriage. The *maṟava* chief is said to have speculated about the reasons which could have emboldened the king. This stanza substitiutes the Jain community for the warrior tribe. The king could have been influenced by two factors. Was it by listening to the recitation of the Vedas by the *brāhmaṇas*, to the detriment of justice? The second factor concerns the teachings of a puttar.

*uṟavu kūṟuñ cāti kulam eṉṟivai yiraṇṭum ala; pēcuñ cattamalatu*[534]
"both these caste and clan, where relationship is referred to, are not; except the sound spoken".

The two words *cāti*, Skt. *jāti*, and *kulam*, Skt. *kula*, have a very wide significance and sometimes they overlap. It is correct that a puttar does not accept such differences in his teachings. But the same can be said about the teachings of the *tīrttaṅkarar*. Consequently, the Jain dig at Buddhism is not very clear on this point. This is one of the stanzas which mentions the *tiruvaṟam* of the Caiṉar, perhaps to distinguish it from the *aṟam* of the Buddhists. The concept of *tiruvaṟam*, "sacred *dharma*" probably makes the Caiṉar an exclusive community, which cannot contemplate intermarriage with a non-Caiṉa, however powerful he may be.

Stanza 91 deals with the theme of *kaḷi*, "revelling, intoxication, inebriation". In *kalampakam* this embodies the effusions of a drunkard. Stanza 91 plays on different meanings of the word *mantiram*. This Tamiḻ word is a Skt. derivative

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527 Loc. cit.
528 Loc. cit.
529 Loc. cit.
530 *TL* 2, p. 955.
531 utīcittēvar, *tirukkalampakamūlamum uraiyum*, pā 72.
532 *TL* 5, p. 348.
533 Loc. cit.
534 utīcittēvar, *tirukkalampakamūlamum uraiyum*, pā 72.

from many words. One of them is *mantra*, which can mean Vedic hymn, sacred formula of invocation of a deity, incantation. Another is *madirā*, "toddy". This meaning of liquor for the Tamiḻ term was available in the *piṅkaḷantai nikaṇṭu* of about the 8th century AD.[535] The drunkard here is intoxicated with the Jain invocation *pañcanamaskāra,* which gives him perpetual happiness. It is also the sacred formula of invocation, uttered by five hundred mouths of Intiraṉ. The drunkard claimed that he was not drunk with three kinds of *mantiram*. According to a Śaiva myth, Civaṉ was wandering with Piramā's skull as his begging bowl, and Tirumāḷ filled the bowl with his blood. As this gift was consecrated with *mantiram*, the author might have considered the usage of the word appropriate in the context. The commentator uses the expression *paḻaṅkaḷ*,[536] "old liquor matured with keeping". The *brāhmaṇas* were said to take in *mantiram* after having recited Vedic hymns. The commentator uses the word *kaḷ*, "toddy". The reference to a puttar is found as

*mantirayāṉam ōtiya pōtiyāṉ uṇṭa mantiram*[537]
"toddy drunk by the Enlightened, who preached the Mantrayāna".

The Mantrayāna seems to be a Tantric Buddhist school, which believes that a puttar accepts liquor and which uses liquor in its rituals.

Stanza 66 challenges Gautama Siddhārtha's right to the title of a puttar. Although he claimed that he had had millions of embodiments and obtained the first enlighenment after great effort, he then he turned around and declared that he, who had obtained enlightenment, did not exist. The *aṉātmīkavātam*, "the theory of no soul", of the Buddhists is under attack here. The author asks clear-headed people how such a completely crazy person can claim to be the Enlightened One. He appeals to them to draw close to the feet of *the arukaṉ*, who had preached the existence and proper characteristics of the souls. In this connection he describes the *arukaṉ* as *taṉi pputtar*,[538] "the unique puttar", in the sense of truely enlightened.

Stanza 73 is glossed by the commentator as
*itaṉāl puttamatam paḻikkappaṭṭatu*[539]
"Buddhism was censured by this".

The stanza is in praise of Nēmināta *tīrttaṅkarar* at Mayilāpuri. He is referred to as *cukatar*, Skt. *sugata*,[540] which could refer either to a puttar or to the *arukaṉ*. This stanza tries to exclude a puttar. The teaching that the person performing an action and the person suffering from it are not the same is targeted for attack here. The *kaṇikavātam*, "the theory of momentariness", of

[535] *TL* 5, p. 3068.
[536] utticittēvar, *tirukkalampakamūlamum uraiyum*, pā 91.
[537] Loc. cit.
[538] Ibid., pā 66.
[539] Loc. cit.
[540] Loc. cit.

the Buddhists is censured as *vañcatturai*.[541] The word *vañcam*, Skt. *vañcana*, can mean fraud, deceit, lie; and cruelty, violence. The commentator uses the expression *kapaṭa neṟi*,[542] where *kapaṭam*, Skt. *kapaṭa*, stands for guile, fraud, deceit. The *nīlakēci* commentary frequently uses the title *cukatar* for a puttar.[543] The *tirukkalampakam* restricts the title to the *arukaṉ* by disqualifying a puttar.

### 5.5.5. Conclusion

There is not much scope for polemical arguments in the literary genre of *kalampakam*. The *tirukkalampakam* takes over some of the well-known attributes and epithets of gods and goddesses in patti religion. But it is very selective and very hard on some aspects of that religion. It takes on puttar, "the Buddhists", for special condemnation. Taking this text together with the *nīlakēci* commentary, Buddhism, in its period of decline and disappearance among the Tamils, seems to have suffered very much in the hands of the Jain scholars.

## 5.6. Some Significant Aspects of the *vīracōḻiyam* and its Commentary

### *Āḷvāppiḷḷai Vēluppiḷḷai*

Though Buddhism disappeared among the Tamils some centuries ago, *maṇimēkalai*, a literary text, and *vīracōḻiyam*, a grammatical text, written by Buddhist authors, have been preserved by Tamiḻ scholars. Extensive studies have appeared on the *maṇimēkalai*, leading to an international workshop in May 1995 in Uppsala.[544] There are some occasional studies on certain aspects of the *vīracōḻiyam* but the work has still not attracted sufficient attention from scholars. The work was first edited and published more than a century ago by Ci Vai Tāmōtarampiḷḷai from Ilaṅkai. He complained in his editorial note that he could not obtain good manuscripts for proper editing. There were considerable variations among verses and examples, especially in the last three sections of the text, in manuscripts collected from different parts of Tamiḻnāṭu and Ilaṅkai. The editor concedes that the text remains unintelligible in a few places. A few other later editions of the work have also appeared but a critical edition is a desideratum.[545]

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[541] Loc. cit.
[542] Loc. cit.
[543] Even the *nīlakēci* text uses this title for the Buddha. Vide *nīlakēci*, viḷakkavurai, uraiciriyar po vē cōmacuntaraṉār 1973, pā 252, 463.
[544] *A Buddhist Woman's Path to Enlightenment*.

Tāmōtarampiḷḷai did not recognise that the author and the commentator were Buddhists and he says, in the editorial note, that they were Caiṉar.[546] This is an indication that knowledge about Buddhism was almost nil among the contemporary Tamils in Yāḻppāṇam, from where he came, and in Tamiḻakam, where he workeding and did his editing. As the *vīracōḻiyam* is a grammatical work, it is true that references to Buddhism are not in large number. Nevertheless, the editor was able to identify the author and the commentator as Caiṉar and not Śaiva s or Vaiṇavar, because he was able to isolate the distinguishing features, which he wrongly identified as Jain instead of as Buddhist.

The *vīracōḻiyam* is dated to the reign of Vīrarājēndracōḻa (1063–1070 AD.) and its commentary to the 12th century. The name of the author is Puttamittiraṉār (in Sanskrit, Puttarmitra). In the first verse of the *pāyiram*, "foreword", the author gives his name, his rank and some important details about his faith. He starts his work, praising *pōtyiṉ mētakkiruntavaṉ*, "he who sat with honour under the *bodhi* tree". "Holding His feet over his head", Puttamittiraṉār, the chieftain of Poṉpaṟṟi, starts speaking about Tamiḻ. In the second verse of the *pāyiram*, he gives a Buddhist interpretation of the Akattiyaṉ myth in relation to Tamiḻ grammar. The traditional Śaiva myth is that Akattiyaṉ learnt Tamiḻ grammar from Civaṉ and then taught it to Tolkāppiyar and other disciples. The *vīracōḻiyam* substitutes Avalōkitaṉ, the leading *pōticattuvaṉ*, for Civaṉ and refers to the Tamiḻ grammar as divulged to the world by Akattiyaṉ, who learnt it from Avalōkitaṉ. The third and the last verse of the *pāyiram* explains that the text received its name because it was made in the glorious name of Vīracōḻaṉ. This work is also mentioned as *curukki*, "summarising", five sections, which he enumerates, and as speaking about the Sanskrit tradition. In *kiriyā patappaṭalam* 76, he again mentions Tamiḻ, taught by Akattiyaṉ of Potiyil. There is no mention of the *tolkāppiyam* anywhere by the author. In a parallel context in *kiriyāpatappaṭalam* 78, he refers to *pōtippirāṉ taṉ tirunturaikku*, "for refined speech of the enlightened Lord". The commentator cites some verses where the term *pōtippirāṉ*, "the enlightened Lord", stands for a puttar. If the term is taken to refer to a puttar, the reference can be translated literally as "for the refined teaching of a puttar". As the context refers to the Tamiḻ language, it can also mean something like Buddhist Tamiḻ. Possibly, it refers only to Tamiḻ grammar taught by Avalōkitaṉ. It is not possible to find anything Buddhist within the grammatical portion of the text. At the end of the

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[545] It is a mystery how and why Tāmōtarampiḷḷai could not have access to better manuscripts. There are a number of editions after him but there are no substantial improvements. A C Burnell seems to have prepared a better version but did not publish it and left his manuscript with the British Museum Library. A better manuscript than the pioneer editor's version is also available in Paris. In the Oriental Manuscripts collection in Madras as well as Tiruvanantapuram, Professor Ki Nāccimuttu (K Nachimuthu) of Kerala University has discovered good manuscripts. Utilising all the available material, he is planning to bring out a critical edition soon.

[546] puttamittiraṉār, *vīracōḻiyam, peruntēvaṉār urai*, 1862), pā 23 24. The commentary is referred to as *vīracōḻiyam, peruntēvaṉār urai*

work, there is a verse by the commentator which mentions his name as Peruntēvaṉār (Sanskrit Mahādeva, partly translated and partly Tamiḻised), "who wrote a brief commentary, as a matter of obligation, to those who study Tamiḻ grammar out of love". There is no direct evidence to connect him to the Buddhist religion but the fact that he included a considerable number of Buddhist-related materials (which is unique in various Tamiḻ commentaries) as examples is advanced as the argument in that direction. The phrase "as a matter of obligation" is interpreted to mean that Peruntēvaṉār, as a student, must have felt it his obligation to write a commentary to Puttamittiraṉār, his teacher's book.

Poṉpaṟṟi, Puttamittiraṉār's locality, is most probably identical with Poṉpētti on the east coast of the Pāṇṭiya country. There are other places called Poṉpaṟṟi in Cōḻamaṇṭalam and Koṅkumaṇṭalam and there is a place called Poṉparippu in Puttaḷam district on the western coast of Īḻam. The last locality not only has a Tamiḻ name but it was also a site of a megalithic culture, associated with the Dravidian civilisation of long ago. The Pāṇṭiya country has been traditionally identified as the land of Centamiḻ, "standard Tamiḻ". The author of *vīracōḻiyam* himself refers to corrupt usages of the Tamiḻ language in Koṅku maṇṭalam and in the Kāviri valley (Cōḻa maṇṭalam).[547] The Kāviri valley was the heartland of the Cōḻa empire and the grammarian, who was accommodative of a considerable variety of spoken forms of Tamiḻ, would not have troubled to condemn usages there if he was also from the same region. The commentator helps to delimit the region further. He adds corrupt usages from the land where Pālāṟu flows (Toṇṭai maṇṭalam). So only Pāṇṭi maṇṭalam remains as the land of standard Tamiḻ. Discussing the formation of compounds in Tamiḻ, the commentator gives the example *pāṇṭi kkarai*, "the Pāṇṭiya coast", as formed from *pāṇṭiyanāṭṭu kkaṭaliṉkarai*, "the sea coast of the Pāṇṭiya country"[548]. The *vīracōḻiyam* has survived, even though Buddhism disappeared among the Tamils, but it has been under considerable criticism for the last sixty years or so, mainly because it devotes considerable space to Sanskrit grammar and it tries to approach Tamiḻ grammar through a Sanskrit grammatical framework. Pi Ca Cuppiramaṇiya Cāttiri (P S Subrahmanya Sastri), the professor of Sanskrit who worked on a History of Grammatical Theories in Tamiḻ, inaugurated the criticism that the *vīracōḻiyam* was trying to superimpose the Sanskrit grammatical framework over the Tamiḻ grammar.[549] About thirty years after him, the present author developed Cāttiri's hypothesis that the *vīracōḻiyam* inaugurated a second grammatical school in the Tamiḻ tradition[550] and argued that the *vīracōḻiyam* was a grammar for inscriptional Tamiḻ.[551] About a decade later, Te Po Mīṉāṭcicuntaraṉār, who was looking for simi-

[547] puttamittiraṉār, *vīracōḻiyam*, *kiriyāpatappaṭalam*, pā 12.
[548] Ibid., *tokaippaṭalam*, mutaṟ pā urai.
[549] Subrahmanya Sastri, *History* …., vide "Introduction".
[550] vēluppiḷḷai, *tamiḻ varalāṟṟilakkaṇam*. See the first chapter on the history of grammatical works in Tamiḻ.
[551] Veluppillai, "Viiracozhiyam as a Grammar of Inscriptional Tamiḻ", pp. 345–348.

larities among the grammatical works of the Dravidian languages, referred to the other major Dravidian languages like Kaṉṉaṭam, Teluṅku and Malayāḷam as utilising technical forms of Sanskrit grammar to describe their grammars. He pointed out that three grammatical works in Tamiḻ—the *vīracōḻiyam*, the *pirayōkavivēkam* and the *ilakkaṇakkottu*—have utilised Sanskrit grammar as a model for the description of Tamiḻ grammar.[552]

The relationship between these three grammatical works is indeed interesting. The last two works belong to the seventeenth century and they were written when Sanskrit grammatical studies, especially the *siddhānta kaumudī*, were becoming very popular in Tamiḻakam. The *pirayōkavivēkam*, including its commentary, was written by Cuppiramaṇiya Tīṭcitar, who was deeply read in Tamiḻ and Tamiḻ grammar and he quotes profusely from Tamiḻ commentaries and Tamiḻ literature. Though the technical terms are Sanskrit, the examples are all from Tamiḻ literature. Īcāṉatēcikar, the author of *ilakkaṇakkottu*, including its commentary, openly advocated the greatness of Sanskrit and Sanskrit grammar, while the *pirayōkavivēkam* held that the Sanskrit grammar represented the universal grammar applicable to all the languages. The *ilakkaṇakkottu* uses only Tamiḻ technical terms, but most of the materials contained in it are only Tamiḻised versions of those in the *pirayōkavivēkam*, and it gives almost the same examples. Īcāṉatēcikar, of course, added his own grammatical discoveries and elucidations. Caṅkara Namaccivāyar, Īcāṉatēcikar's student, incorporated all the novelties from his teacher's book in his elaborate commentary on the *naṉṉūl*.

It has to be admitted that before the development of linguistics as a discipline, a deeper knowledge of a language with a systematised grammar like Sanskrit could have provided a grasp of the linguisic universals, thereby helping one to understand and explain the grammatical structure of one's own language. For Tamiḻ scholars, who do not know Sanskrit, the *ilakkaṇakkottu* is a key to understanding the *pirayōkavivēkam*. The editors of the *vīracōḻiyam* have mentioned that the *pirayōkavivēkam* served as a key for them to understand the former. It is important to observe here that the two later works deal with *col*, morphology-syntax only, compared to the *vīracōḻiyam* which deals with an additional four sections. To the two later grammarians, the core of grammar is the Sanskrit *vyākaraṇa*, equivalent to the Tamiḻ *col*. Even though Puttamittiraṉār allocates only one section to this important aspect, he concedes its significance by treating it in six chapters, while all the other sections have only one chapter each.

During the last fifteen years, many scholars like Ce Vai Caṇmukam, Mu Caṇmukam Piḷḷai and Cu Irācārām have been active in *vīracōḻiyam* studies. The first scholar critically reviewed previous writings on this grammar and highlighted some important features.[553] Here, I will confine myself to making

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[552] Meenakshisundaran, *Foreign Models in* Tamiḻ *Grammar*...Vide his first chapter on History of Tamiḻ Grammar.

[553] caṇmukam, "*vīracōḻiyam*: oru moḻiyiyal āyvu", pp. 470–474.

some comments on Caṇmukam's criticisms of my paper. I realise that some of my statements in this paper have to be modified in the larger perspective, but even so they should still carry considerable weight. I do not give much credence to many of the so-called early literary usages, as we do not have any really old manuscripts. None of the available old manuscripts are more than a few centuries old, copied again and again by scribes, from one copy to the other, up to recent times. Scribes who were familiar with later usages might have introduced these usages at a later date. Many of the Tamiḻ classical and mediaeval literary texts have not yet been critically edited. I still have very serious reservations about accepting the need for giving so much prominence to the classification into case-relation *sandhi* and non-case relation *sandhi*. Caṇmukam remarks that this classification is useful at least in a few places. This I am prepared to concede, but this concession does not seem to detract from my argument. Rigorous reformulation of grammatical rules should be made anew to cover instances where this classification appears to work and where this does not work. The *vīracōḻiyam* should be given credit for taking an independent line, different from the *tolkāppiyam*. The reluctance of the later grammatical work of the *naṉṉūl* to adopt certain innovations, even after their introduction by the *vīracōḻiyam*, raises the stature of the latter further.

At an international conference on Tamiḻ Buddhism held in Madras in 1992, Mu Caṇmukappiḷḷai, in a short paper, put forward an interesting hypothesis that the *vīracōḻiyam* looks like a contrastive-transfer grammar.[554] By a strange coincidence Irācārām brought out a monograph on the same theme in 1992.[555] The contrastive-transfer grammar is a new field, developed in applied linguistics to help second language learners. It is now generally accepted that the first language conditions very much the learning of a second language. Therefore, during the first stage, the second language is described in terms of the grammatical structure of the first language. The learner will be able to quickly make considerable progress in the second language. But acquisition will be defective in certain respects and during the second stage, the learning process has to be reversed, by a description of the first language through the grammatical structure of the second language.

It is interesting to note that *the vīracōḻiyam* is claimed to have served such a purpose to a small extent in the study of Tamiḻ in the Buddhist privena education in pre-colonial Ilaṅkai. The *Sidat saṅgarava*, dated to the 13th century and the earliest available Sinhala grammatical work, is often claimed to exhibit influences from the *vīracōḻiyam*. According to an unsubstantiated remark in Irācārām's work, a Buddhist monk from Nākapaṭṭiṉam went to Ilaṅkai and wrote the Sinhala grammar.[556] Puttamittiraṉār did not have the benefit of the theory of contrastive-transfer grammar to guide him and so his work can be evaluated only as a rudimentary work of contrastive-transfer grammar.

[554] Shanmugam Pillai, "*Vīracōḻiyam…*"
[555] irācārām, *vīracōḻiya ilakkaṇa kkōtpāṭu*
[556] irācārām, *vīracōḻiya…* pa. 263.

Irācārām, in the fifth and final chapter of his book, deals in considerable detail with how ṣome principles of contrastive-transfer grammar fit in nicely with the way the *vīracōḻiyam* treats its material in its first two sections. As the work is written in the Tamiḻ language and not in Sanskrit, it could have served as a handbook for the teacher to teach Tamiḻ to Sanskrit scholars. According to Irācārām, the book will be useful to a second language—Tamiḻ-learning Sanskritist student who knows some Tamiḻ, but not Tamiḻ grammar.[557]

Puttamittiraṉār was probably a follower of Sanskrit Buddhism. He describes Sanskrit as *matattiṟ poliyum vaṭa col*,[558] "words of Sanskrit where flourishes the religion". The term *vaṭa col* seems to have included words from Sanskrit, Prakrit and Pāli, as they were all of northern origin. The Sanskritists considered the other two languages as corrupt forms of Sanskrit. Irācārām takes the view that *vaṭa col* in this grammatical work refers to Pāli. According to him, the first two sections of the *vīracōḻiyam* were heavily influenced by the Pāli grammar *kaccayāna*. He points to similarity in seven chapter headings and in many grammatical technical terms.[559] Even if Puttamittiraṉār had been so influenced, it is not at all clear either from the main text or from its commentary that the grammar here just deals with Pāli. No specific Pāli citation is found anywhere in the book. When the author refers to the religion, it is very unlikely that he refers to the Vedic religion here. The commentator, Peruntēvanār from the 12th century, does not make clarify matters when he substitutes *teyva moḻi*, "the divine language" in that context. The author himself advises that *tātu*s "verbal roots", should be created for Tamiḻ by analogy with Sanskrit.[560] The commentator seems to be committing himself too far when he says that as Sanskrit is the mother of Tamiḻ, all its usages will apply to Tamiḻ too[561] The author stipulates four conditions for the realisation of Avalōkitaṉ's grammar: [562]knowledge of the structure of the Sanskrit language, the Tamiḻ tradition, the shortcomings in the speech of common people and the corruption in the structure of the verb. He mentions Avalōkitaṉ at the end of the second section but not any more later, probably because he wants to make him the father of only Tamiḻ grammar proper, which comprises the phonology and the morphology- syntax.

The commentator introduces a considerable number of examples related to Buddhism. In the two first sections, the name Tēvatattaṉ (Devadatta, a cousin of Gautama Buddha) is introduced in eight examples. But except for the name, the contents of the eight sentences—like patience came to him, wisdom developed in him, gold came from him, he cooks rice, sages came down from his hill, rice was obtained by him, his word, rice was cooked by him—do not seem to be related to the legend of a puttar. This name had not been used by other

[557] Ibid., pa. 15–16.
[558] puttamittiraṉār, vīracōḻiyam, kiriyā patappaṭalam, pā 13.
[559] irācārām, vīracōḻiya... pa. 238–259.
[560] puttamittiraṉār, vīracōḻiyam, tātuppaṭalam, pā 1.
[561] vīracōḻiyam, peruntēvaṉār urai, tātuppaṭalam, pā 1.
[562] puttamittiraṉār, vīracōḻiyam, kiriyāpatappaṭalam, pā 13.

Tamiḻ commentators, all of whom were non-Buddhists. There is a sentence, *puttaṉ kaṇṇaṉai uyvittāṉ*,[563] "The puttar caused Kiruṣṇaṉ's salvation". This may have been intended to score an advantage for Buddhism over Vaiṇavam.

It is strange that the commentator seems to equate a puttar to a deva. *teyvam*, a derivative of the latter, has been used to define a *pauttaṉ*, "a Buddhist", as one who has a puttar as *teyvam*.[564] The commentator uses the word *teyvam* to denote Civaṉ and Pacupatias well, but here it can be argued that he was belittling the great gods. Even if this interpretation is unacceptable, the usage of the word *teyvam*, for all three, as if they are all of equal status, is unacceptable from the Buddhist point of view. The author seems to be using this word in a very wide sense, as seen in *teyva ppulavar*, "divine scholar", in *tātuppaṭalam* 67 and in *tattitappaṭalam* 54 and *teyva vaṭa nūṟ pulavar*, "divine northern book scholar", in *upakārakappaṭalam* 53. Here he seems to refer to gifted grammarians. In one of the long verses praising a puttar, he was identified with *ayaṉ* (Brahmā) and *ari* (Hari/Vṣṇu).[565] This position is also unacceptable from the Buddhist point of view. As the Śaivas prefer the title *makātēvaṉ* to Civaṉ, Pāli Buddhists prefer to call a puttar by the title of *devādhideva*, when the occasion demands. In the verses cited by the commentator, there are allusions to the *devas* worshipping a puttar in three places. The two longest poems, each with more than fifty lines, begin with *ayaṉ* worshipping a puttar.[566] There is a reference to different kinds of births, beginning from that of ants and culminating in that of *ayaṉ*. Buddhism gives a high status to *ayaṉ*, but as a subordinate of a puttar.

The commentator brings in a Buddhist interpretation of gifts, utilising an opportunity given by the author, mentioning *ārvakkōḷi*, "donee with enthusiasm", *kiṭappukkōḷi*, "donee by tradition" and *irappukkōḷi*, "donee by begging".[567] Both the *antaṇar* (*brāhmaṇas*) and the Buddhist monks have to depend on gifts from laymen. The Buddhist monks have to go out everyday, expecting alms to be given to them. The *antaṇar* receive expensive gifts once in a while and live on these gifts. The example, *aruntavarkk ūṇ koṭuttāṉ*, "he gave food to the monks", is given for "donee with enthusiasm", and it is explained that the donor gives enthusiastically and the donee monks receive enthusiastically. The example, *tēvarkku ppūviṭṭāṉ*, "he offered flowers to the gods", is given for "donee by tradition", and it is explained that the gods do not beg for flowers and it is natural for the householder to make the offering. The example, *antaṇarkku ppoṉ koṭuttāṉ aracaṉ*, "the king gave gold to the *brāhmaṇas*", is given as an example for "donee by begging", and it is explained that the *brāhmaṇas* receive by appealing and begging. In the Śaiva view, the order is reversed. Campantar, the Tamiḻ Śaiva saint-lord of the 7th

[563] vīracōḻiyam, peruntēvaṉār urai, upakārakappaṭalam, pā 3–4.
[564] vīracōḻiyam, peruntēvaṉār urai, tattitappaṭalam, pā 2–3.
[565] vīracōḻiyam, peruntēvaṉār urai, yāppuppaṭalam, pā 11.
[566] Loc. cit.
[567] vīracōḻiyam, peruntēvaṉār urai, upakārakappaṭalam, pā 3.

century AD, expressed his contempt and aversion for the dependence of the monks on the alms of laymen.[568] In the Buddhist view, the monks are superior to the gods.

It is remarkable that in the considerable number of Buddhism-related verses and other examples cited in the commentary, the title puttar is missing and also the Buddhist technical term of *nirvāṇa* or *nibbāna*, referring to the Ultimate Release. The word *pōti*, referring to the tree under which a puttar attained enlightenment, has become so important that it is mentioned in eighteen places. The *pōti* tree is given beautiful descriptions in many places and associated with a puttar, but under various titles. Usages like *pōti vēntaṉ*,[569] "the king of the bo tree" and *pōti yāti*,[570] "the first enlightened one" are noticed. The feet of a puttar under the *pōti* is mentioned in eight places, in some of which it is not clear whether a puttar image was there or only his feet were represented. The word *aṟivaṉ*,[571] "he who knows", found in one example, can be taken as an allusion to the word puttar. The word *vāmaṉ*,[572] "handsome male", which is used in Caiṇa and Caiva religious traditions as well, has been used for a puttar four times. The word *pirāṉ*,[573] "helper" common in the Śaiva tradition, has been used twice. The Tamiḻ word *aṟam*, equivalent to *dharma*, occurs six times, once as *aṟavāḻi*, "dharmacakra" and once as *aṟavamiḻtam*,[574] "ambrosia of dharma". The puttar's preaching of pacification between two contending factions of Nākar is referred to as *vāyamiḻtam*,[575] literally, "ambrosia of the mouth", but denoting teaching of love.

The Buddhism-related verses have been composed in different patterns. Some of them praise a puttar, addressing him in the second person. Some of them are in the form of preaching Buddhism, addressing an audience. Still others refer to a puttar in the third person, and these may be meant for an indirect audience. There is one rare instance of combining and contrasting a puttar's grace with the unfaithfulness of the lover in an *akam* theme poem.[576] The poets aim at *vīṭu*, the common Tamiḻ term for *mokṣa* and *nirvāṇa*, and in the Buddhist context it can be taken to refer to the Buddhist sense. They also want to break away from the chain of *karma* and to escape from births and deaths. These are all conventional aims and one poet introduces an innovation that "everybody in the world, surrounded by the ocean, should live long, with unending happiness"[577]

The Buddhist author and the Buddhist commentator want to emphasise a Buddhist connection to the Śaiva Cōḻa emperor Vīrarājēndracōḻa. The

[568] Veluppillai, "The Hindu Confrontation…", pp. 335–364.
[569] vīracōḻiyam, peruntēvaṉār urai, yāppuppaṭalam, pā 1.
[570] vīracōḻiyam, peruntēvaṉār urai, yāppuppaṭalam, pā 33.
[571] vīracōḻiyam, peruntēvaṉār urai, yāppuppaṭalam, pā 11.
[572] maṇimēkalai, mūlamum uraiyum, 1965, pa 510.
[573] TL Supplement, p. 362.
[574] vīracōḻiyam, peruntēvaṉār urai, yāppuppaṭalam, pā 11.
[575] Loc.cit.
[576] vīracōḻiyam, peruntēvaṉār urai, poruṭpaṭalam, pā 19.
[578] See next page.

*puṟanāṉūṟu*, a classical Tamiḻ text, has a verse extolling a Cōḻa king as *cempiyar marukaṉ*, "descendent of cempiyar", descending in a lineage from a king who was preparing to sacrifice his whole body to a hunter just to save a pigeon who appealed to him to save its life. The king agreed to give the hunter a portion of his flesh, equivalent to the weight of the pigeon. When the weighing was done, it was found that the pigeon weighed so much that the entire body of the king was needed to balance the scales. This story is alluded to in the *cilappatikāram* and the *maṇimēkalai* but not given much importance. There is a Buddhist *muṉpiṟappu* (*Jātaka*) story ascribing a similar sacrifice to a puttar when he was born as Cipi (Śibi).

The Śibi Jātaka has different versions in Sanskrit and in Pāli.[578] There is a Sanskrit version of the Tamiḻ story about the Cōḻa ancestor. The commentator derives the title *cempi* from Śibi (also Śivi), claiming that there is a *guṇa* change in the initial vowel and that the labial consonant *-m-* comes in between consonants. According to him, *cipi varkkattāṉ cempiyaṉ*,[579] "*cempiyaṉ* belongs to the class of *cipi*". The Buddhist author and the Buddhist commentator want to praise the Cōḻa ruler as a *cempiyaṉ*. In the seventh verse in the first section, Puttamittiraṉār praises Vīrarājēndra as a *cempiyaṉ* whose white umbrella covers all the worlds. In the examples cited by Peruntēvaṉār, this *Jātaka* story is highlighted in five places. In one of these places, the title *cempiyaṉ* seems to be ironic as in the land of those who do not praise him, women have fled their homes, where only multi-coloured puppies with brown legs cry, to be comforted by owls. [580] Another version of the Sivi story in which the king sacrifices both his eyes to Indra, who came in disguise as an old blind *brāhmaṇa*, is alluded to in one place.[581]

There is some clue as to how the Tamiḻ Pauttar viewed the Cōḻa conquest of the Siṁhala country. The puttar is eulogised by an unknown poet in a long poem of fifty-five lines—with allusions to many of his wonderful qualities, supplemented with references to many *Jātaka* stories—for enabling Cēntaṉ, a chieftain of Poṉpaṟṟi, to have a long life in the world. Among the conquests of this Cēntaṉ was mentioned a white umbrella of a Sinhala king.[582] This Cēntaṉ might have been either an ancestor or an earlier name of Puttamittiraṉ. In this long poem, the *Jātaka* story of the pigeon is highlighted twice. In another long

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[577] vīracōḻiyam, peruntēvaṉār urai, yāppuppaṭalam, pā 11.
*ōṅku nīr ulakiṭai yāvaru*
*nīṅkāv iṉpamōṭu nīṭu vāḻk eṉavē.*

[578] For the different versions in different languages of the story vide Meisig, *König Sibi und die Taube…* For Śibi in art vide Schlingloff, "Śibi-Sarvaṃda…", pp. 299–307.

[579] vīracōḻiyam, peruntēvaṉār urai, tattitappaṭalam, pā 2–3.

[580] vīracōḻiyam, peruntēvaṉār urai, alaṅkārappaṭalam, pā 21–22. The Tamiḻ word *namali* can mean both "dog" and "pea-cock". kōvintarāca mutaliyār gives the meaning peacock in this context. Vide *vīracōḻiyam*, peruntēvaṉār iyaṟṟiya uraiyuṭaṉ, 1970, pa 389. But dog, which is found everywhere, is more acceptable in this context.

[581] vīracōḻiyam, peruntēvaṉār urai, pā 3
*viṉṉavar nāyakaṉ vēṇṭak*
*kaṇṇiṉit aḷitta kātal*
*puṇṇiyaṉ*

poem of fifty-seven lines, the structure of which is similar except for lack of clear allusions to the story of the pigeon, a puttar is worshipped to enable Cuntaracōḻaṉ to live a long life and excel in liberality, glory and strength.[583] It is interesting to note that Cuntararacōḻa Parāntaka II was credited with campaigns to conquer the Sinhala country in the 10th century.

The commentator quotes two lines of a verse mentioning the "the famous chieftain of Poṉpaṟṟi of Eḷilmālaikkūṟṟam, who was the author of this work"[584]. It is not clear whether this description refers to Puttamittiraṉār. If so, Māṟaṉ, the title of the ruler mentioned in the next line, creates a problem. It was according to his order that the author compiled the book. He is also extolled as "the victorious Māṟaṉ, with broad arms, with army who conquers enemies". Māṟaṉ was a title of the Pāṇṭiyar from classical times. Some rulers of the Pāṇṭiya royal family were trying to assert their independence but they did not count for much during the reign of Vīrarājēndra. In this context, a Pāṇṭiya ruler, hostile to the Cōḻas, could not have been praised. Perhaps, we have to take him as a Cōḻa Pāṇṭiya viceroy.

Some interesting observations can be made on the content of the Buddhism-related examples. The Cōḻas had the tiger as their emblem and there is a *Jātaka* story that a puttar gave himself up as food to a hungry tiger that was contemplating eating her own young cubs, which she had just given birth to, as she could not appease her own hunger. Saving the life of the tiger cubs appeared to a puttar as more important than his own precious life. This story seems to have fascinated the Buddhists in Tamiḻakam and this is referred to in four places. The Cōḻa tiger emblem might have reminded the Tamiḻ Pauttar of the story of the bodhisattva tiger, although the connection is not made explicitly.

The story is the main theme in two verses, while there are allusions in two other places.[585] The puttar's visit to northern Iḷaṅkai to stop bloodshed and to

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[582] vīracōḻiyam, peruntēvaṉār urai, yāppuppaṭalam, pā 11.
*ciṅkaḷatt araiyaṉ veṇ kuṭaiy ataṉoṭu*
*poṅku pukaḻ villavaṉ taṉ puṟakkoṭai koṇṭu*
*poli taru Cēntaṉ poṉpaṟṟi kāvalaṉ.*
[583] vīracōḻiyam, peruntēvaṉār urai, yāppuppaṭalam, pā 11.
*pōtiyan tiruniḻaṟ paravutum*
*mē taku nantipuri maṉṉar Cuntarac*
*Cōḻar vaṇmaiyum vaṉappun*
*tiṇmaiyum ulakiṟ ciṟantu vāḻk eṉavē*
[584] vīracōḻiyam, peruntēvaṉār urai, alaṅkārappaṭalam, pā 39.
*īṇṭu nūl kaṇṭāṉ eḷilmālaikkūṟṟattu ppūṇṭa pukaṭ poṉpaṟṟi kāvalaṉē*
*mūṇṭavai vellum paṭai ttaṭakkai veṟṟi puṉai māṟaṉ taṉ colliṉpaṭiyē tokuttu.*
[585] vīracōḻiyam, peruntēvaṉār urai, poruṭpaṭalam, pā 19; yāppuppaṭalam, pā 3, 11.
*puṉiu ppaciy uḷanta puli ppiṇavu taṉāatu*
*mulai māāa kkuḷaviy ātuka*
*vāyppaṭutt iraiy eṉa kkavarntatu nōkkiy*
*āṅkavaṉ ēriḷaṅ kuḷavi tāṉ ceṉu --------*
*kūrār vaḷaiy ukir vāḷ eyiuc ceṅkaṭ kolaiy uḷuvai kāy paciyā kūrntav eṉṉōy nīṅkav*
*ōr āyiraṅ katir pōl vāḷ virinta mēṉiy ulam virumpi cceṉ āṅk iyaintaṉai nī -------*
*pulavu nacai pperuñciṉattu ppulikk uṭampu koṭuttaṉaiyē*
*tītiyal puliyatu paci keṭu vakai niṉa tiruvuruv aruḷiya tia mali perumaiyai.*

bring peace among the *nākar* (*nāgas*), narrated in the Pali chronicle of the *Mahāvamsa*[586] and in the Tamiḻ *maṇimēkalai*,[587] is alluded to in three places by Peruntēvaṉār,[588] maybe because that region is regarded by him as part of the Tamiḻ land. The puttar-to-be pouring his own blood at the request of five *arakkar* (*rākṣasas*) is mentioned twice by him.[589] The puttar-to-be is also mentioned as having brought peace between the two traditional, inveterate enemies of Karuṭaṉ (Skt Garuḍa), the king of birds and the *nākar*, "snakes".[590] There are also allusions to his achievements, when he took was born as a fish and a deer.[591] One verse refers to equanimity in the mind of a person who had not been thrilled when he received an invitation from the king and who was not upset when he received the death penalty, because he understood that everything happens according to *viṉai* (*karman*).[592] The commentary has two references to Nākapaṭṭiṉam, which was a well-known Buddhist centre in Tamiḻnāṭu during this period. The Larger and the Smaller Leyden Plates of the 11th century refer to endowments and patronage of the Cōḻa emperors to the Buddhist monasteries there, in co-operation with Buddhist rulers from South-East Asia. One reference is a grammatical observation, trying to explain how Nākapaṭṭiṉam came to be known as Nākai. The analogy is cited of other place names like Tañcāvūr and Uṟaiyūr also lose their suffixes and then end with -ai, as Tañcai and Uṟantai.[593] The second reference is a two-line verse which praises the monks from Nākai, as having equanimity of mind even towards the evil-doers, and as those who may cut of parts of their body and cook them in the fire to feed those who approach them.[594]

The commentator has included a verse which probably implies his broad-minded acceptance of *aṟam* (*dharma*) whatever its source. The cows can be different but the milk is alike. So *aṟam* is one, even if its origins could be different.[595]

Another verse quoted by the commentator is intriguing. The monks residing in a paḷḷi, "monastery", which included the youth, the elderly and the great,

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[586] *Mv* 1: 44–70.
[587] maṇimēkalai, mūlamum uraiyum, aṭi 53–63; pāṭikai kaṇṭu piṟappuṇarnta kātai, aṭi 58-62.
[588] vīracōḻiyam, peruntēvaṉār urai, yāppuppaṭalam, pā 11.
*pai nākar kulam uyya vāyamiḻtam pakarntaṉaiyē*
*popuṭai nākar tan tuyaram pōkkiṉai*
*ār amiḻta maṇi nākar kulam uyyav aruḷiṉaiyē*
vīracōḻiyam, peruntēvaṉār urai, yāppuppaṭalam, pā 11.
*irantēa paṭaiy arakkarkk iḻi kuruti poḻintanaiyē*
*pōr arakkar ōr aivvarkk aav amiḻtam poḻintaṉaiyēē*
[589] vīracōḻiyam, peruntēvaṉār urai, yāppuppaṭalam, pā 11.
[590] Loc. cit.
[591] Loc. cit.
[592] vīracōḻiyam, peruntēvaṉār urai, alaṅkārappaṭalam, pā 9.
*vērik kamaḻtā raracaṉ viṭukiṉṟa pōtuñ*
*cōri kkalattiṉ vakaiyāṟ kolaicūḻnta pōtum*
*pūrittal vāṭa livaṟṟār poliyātu viṭṭāṉ*
*pāritta vellām viṉaiyiṉ payaṉeṉṉa vallāṉ*
[593] vīracōḻiyam, peruntēvaṉār urai, tattitappaṭalam, pā 5.
[594] vīracōḻiyam, peruntēvaṉār urai, yāppuppaṭalam, pā 21.

laughed and laughed so much that their jaws broke and they died together. It is possible to take the monks as Jain monks as they were said to be of *paṟiyaṟu mātavar*, "monks who plucked (hair)".[596] Except for this difference, the verse could have denoted the Buddhist monks as well. The attitude of the commentator to the *tirukkuṟaḷ*, the mainly didactic Tamiḻ classical text, is very interesting. Authors and commentators from Śaiva, Vaiṇava, Jain and Buddhist backgrounds have claimed affliation to this work.

The *maṇimēkalai*, a Tamiḻppautta text, quotes a verse from the *tirukkuṟaḷ* and lauds its author. The *tirumantiram*, the tenth Śaiva *tirumuṟai*, makes use of some phrases and ideas from the *tirukkuṟaḷ*, even though there is no explicit acknowledgement.[597] The *tirukkaḷiṟṟuppaṭiyār*, the second treatise among the fourteen *caiva cittānta cāttiram*, quotes from the *tirukkuṟaḷ*.[598] It is interesting to note that its author Tirukkaṭavūr Uyyavanta Tēvar and Peruntēvaṉār might have been contemporaries in the 12th century AD. Peruntevaṉār seems to have been so fascinated by the *tirukkuṟaḷ* that he quotes fifty-eight verses as examples. This number could be a record for a mediaeval author or commentator. His admiration for the great book did not prevented him from noting and commenting on the metrical shortcomings in two verses.[599] He points them out as *kuṟaṭpōli*, "imitation distich", but defends the book, citing a number of works like *kuṇṭalakēci viruttam*, *kali viruttam*, *eli viruttam* and *nari viruttam* where *kalittuṟai* verses also occur, even though the titles of these works claim to be just *viruttam* verses.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that the commentator has been bold enough to comment also on the shortcoming in metrical form in the *meykkīrtti* (*praṣasti*) of Rājēndra I, who was Vīrarājēndra's father. According to him, if feet were to be marked based on alliteration, *tiru maṉṉi vaḷarum iru nila maṭantaiyum pōr cceya ppāvaiyum cīr ttaṉi ccelviyum,* some verses would be contrary to *āciriyappā* and *veṇpā,* and would be imitation *veṇpā*.[600] This kind of courage is very unusual among the Tamiḻ commentators, although a Śaiva myth of a late origin in the *tiruviḷaiyāṭaṟ purāṇam* refers to an incident where Nakkīrar, a poet and a commentator, challenged Civaṉ about the acceptablity of a poem in the *caṅkam* period.

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[595] vīracōḻiyam, peruntēvaṉār urai, yāppuppaṭalam, pā 5.
*ā vēṟ uruviṉav āyiṇum payanta*
*pāl vēṟ uruviṉav allavām*
*pāl pōl oru taṉmaitt ākum aṟa neṟiy ā pōl*
*uruvu koḷal īṅku*

[596] vīracōḻiyam, peruntēvaṉār urai, alaṅkārappaṭalam, pā 28.
paḷḷiyuḷ vāḻum paṟiy aṟu mātavar
piḷḷaikaḷ ellām periyar mutirntavar
veḷḷaikaḷ pōla vilāvaṟa nakkunakk
uḷḷavar ellām oruṅkuṭaṉ māyntār

[597] pañcāpakēcan, tirukkuṟaḷum tirumantiramum, 1995, pp. 59–63.

[598] Dhavamony, Love of God, p. 183.

[599] vīracōḻiyam, *peruntēvaṉār urai, yāppuppaṭalam, pā 21.*

[600] *vīracōḻiyam, peruntēvaṉār urai, yāppuppaṭalam, pā 19.*

It is surprising that the commentator does not seem to be aware of the existence of the *maṇimēkalai*, the extant Buddhist narrative poem, much talked about now. Even the *cilappatikāram*, so closely associated with the *maṇimēkalai*, was not known to him. Peruntēvaṉār refers in his commentary to many literary works among the *eṭṭuttokai* and the *patiṉeṇ kīḻkkaṇakku*. He quotes two narrative poems, the Buddhist *kuṇṭalakēci viruttam* and the Jain *utaya(ṇa)ṉ katai* as examples in four and three places respectively.[601] In the section on rhetoric, the commentator mentions the *utayaṉ katai* as having many examples of the figure of speech *pariyāyam*, in which the idea is not expressed in so many words but is cleverly suggested. In two other places, the commentator quotes both the works together as having two peculiarities: the occurence of obsolete words and materials, and the presence of *pāvikam*, *bhāvika* in Sanskrit, referring to the basic idea running through a poem. The commentator groups the two books together under the title, *akalakkavi*, "elaborate poem". He defends the occurrence of obsolete words and materials as unavoidable in such elaborate works. He also mentions the other possible explanation, that those words and materials might have made sense at the time of the authors. In one place, he makes an interesting observation that all the *kāppiyam*s, beginning with the *kuṇṭalakēci,* are in the *viruttam* metre. In the sections on prosody and rhetoric, there are plenty of opportunities to mention the *cilappatikāram* and the *maṇimēkalai*, if the author had been aware of their existence. It is interesting to note that a reference to the *maṇimēkalai*, with its full name *maṇimēkalai tuṟavu*, "The Renunciation of Maṇimēkalai", occurs in the Jain *nīlakēci*, a rejoinder to the Buddhist *kuṇṭalakēci viruttam*.

It is also of interesting that the commentator uses the word *kāppiyam* to refer to the *kuṇṭalakēci*. This word seems to be a derivative of the Sanskrit *kāvya*. It is sometimes translated inaccurately as "epic" in Tamiḻ. A later Tamiḻ tradition enumerates five major and five minor *kāppiyam*s in Tamiḻ. All the ten works thus enumerated traditionally are Jain or Buddhist. Therefore, it is surmised that heterodox religionists must have been responsible for the two compilations. It is quite possible that this commentator started the tradition by calling the *kuṇṭalakēci* a *kāppiyam*. But, again, another problem crops up. The commentator does not mention *cīvaka cintāmaṇi* anywhere. Many modern scholars consider the Jain *cīvaka cintāmaṇi* as the first *kāppiyam* in *viruttam* metre and date it to the 10th century AD. This work is outstanding in some aspects and it could have provided him with fine examples in prosody and rhetoric. Religious prejudice cannot be cited as the reason for the omission, because he quotes the Jain *utayaṇaṉ katai*.

Puttamittiraṉār gives some useful information in his third section, allocated to *poruḷ* (affairs of life). This section cannot be said to follow the contrastive-transfer grammar methodolgy because there is no similar classification in Sanskrit grammar. The treatment of *akam* and *puṟam* sections in this grammar is

[601] *vīracōḻiyam, peruntēvaṉār urai, yāppuppaṭalam, pā 21, 22; alaṅkārappaṭalam, pā 3,13,28.*

quite distinctive from the *tolkāppiyam*. Instead of a two-fold classification, a four-fold classification, *akam*, *akappuṟam*, *puṟam* and *puṟappuṟam* has been attempted in the *vīracōḻiyam*. Puttamittiraṉār seems to be indebted to the *puṟapporuḷ venpā mālai*, an extant work, which itself claims to follow the tradition of the *paṉṉiru paṭalam*, an earlier work now no longer extant. It is interesting to note that in the later exposition of the Śaiva cittāntam this four-fold classification has been used in the classification of Indian religions. The commentator quotes many *sūtra*s in this section that must come from earlier writings, but unfortunately, it is not possible to trace their sources.

According to the *tolkāppiyam*, *vēntaṉ* is the god for *marutam*, "the agricultural tract". In the Tamiḻ language, the word *vēntaṉ* just means "king". The author here mentions Intiraṉ as the god of the agricultural tract.[602] It is probably this clue that encouraged later commentators to derive *vēntaṉ* from *devendra* as a corrupt form. The Tamiḻ Lexicon gives this form and derivation as an additional item, quoting from the *tirukkuṟaḷ*. But it is the late commentary of this early work that gives this derivation. The fact that this interpretation was a late one is clear because Peruntēvaṉār himself derives *vēntaṉ* from *viti +taṉ*.[603] *vidhi* in Sanskrit, Tamiḻised as *viti*, means "rule". According to him, it seems that *vēntaṉ* means ruler and the appellative noun has been formed by suffixing a personal termination. Though this etymology is unacceptable, it is important as showing the prevalent explanation of the period. For some reason or other, the *tolkāppiyam* does not mention a god or goddess for *pālai*, "the arid land". It is again *vīracōḻiyam* that mentions *vātiyal kaṉṉi*,[604] "the Virgin, associated with killing". Peruntēvaṉār has not identified her. This goddess is later identified as referring to *koṟṟavai*, mentioned in early Tamiḻ literature.

When referring to communities of people in each of the five regions, a distinctive feature can be noticed. The name of the communities for four of the five regions are masculine plural —*kuṉṟuvar* for *kuṟiñci*, *vēṭar* and *kuṟumpar* for *pālai*, *iṭaiyar* for *mullai*, *nuḷaiyar* for *neytal*- while the name of the community for *marutam*, given as *kaṭaiciyar*, is in the feminine plural.[605] The present author is unable to make out whether this discrepancy has any implication, such as the dominance of women in agricultural labour and society. There are some noteworthy changes from the *tolkāppiyam* tradition. According to the latter, *vēṭar* and *iṭaiyar* are included in *mullai* while *eyiṉar* is the community for *pālai*. *vīracōḻiyam* probably reflects a stage in which the unrefined portions of *mullai* were included in *pālai*. The *kuṟumpar* of Toṇṭaimaṇṭalam region were probably not well known in the *caṅkam* period. Again, the *tolkāppiyam* does not mention the expression *kuṉṟuvar* or *kuṉṟavar*, an appellative from *kuṉṟu*, "a hill". It is easy to see how the prevalent form *kuṟavar* could have been derived from the latter form by the dropping of

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602 *puttamittiraṉār*, *vīracōḻiyam*, *poruṭpaṭalam*, *pā 10*.
603 *vīracōḻiyam*, *peruntēvaṉār urai*, *tātuppaṭalam*, *pā 5*.
604 *puttamittiraṉār*, *vīracōḻiyam*, *poruṭpaṭalam*, *pā 8*.
605 *puttamittiraṉār*, *vīracōḻiyam*, poruṭpaṭalam, pā 10. Vide pā 7 to 11

the nasal. In the references to Vaḷḷi, God Murukaṉ's consort, at least from *kanta purāṇam* of the 14th century, *kuṟavar* have been identified with *vēṭar*.

The commentator has recorded some important information about the Tamils and their neighbours. He classifies the Caivas and the Pācupatar separately as having for their gods Civaṉ and Pacupati respectively.[606] The Pācupātar are a pan-Indian sect from whom the Tamiḻ Caivas try to distance themselves by being more sober. Peruntēvaṉār is one of the few Tamiḻ commentators who has shown an awareness of the Sinhala language. He defines the *ciṅkaḷavaṉ* as one who speaks *ciṅkaḷam*.[607] Citing examples for Tamiḻisation of foreign loan-words, he mentions that *muruṅkā* in Siṃhala has become *muruṅkai* in Tamiḻ.[608] This has been repeated uncritically by some later commentators on Tamiḻ grammar. The commentator identifies the *vaṭukar* differently from others. The *Tamiḻ Lexicon* has three items—*vaṭuku*, *vaṭukaṉ* and *vaṭukar,* which all refer to the speakers of Teluṅku only.[609] It derives the word from *vaṭakku*, *baḍagu* in Kaṉṉaṭam.[610] It does not give the *vīracōḻiyam* usage, even though this commentary was available to the editors of the Tamiḻ *Lexicon*.

Referring to foreign loanwords in Tamiḻ, Peruntēvaṉār mentions *āriyam*, *vaṭuku*, *teluṅku*, *cāvakam*, *ciṅkaḷam* and *papparam*.[611] The last one may be identical with Burma, but among the others, *teluṅku* is mentioned as distinct from *vaṭuku*. In another place, he quotes a verse describing the battle of *kūṭal caṅkamam*, where Vīrarājēndra fought against the *vaṭukar*.[612] Here the term *vaṭukar* refers to the Karnāṭakam Western Cāḷukya emperor. Therefore, it is quite possible that the term *vaṭukar* denoted the Karnāṭakam people as well, at least during the Cōḻa age when the Teluṅku heartland, including Vēṅki, was a part of the Cōḻa Empire.

The conventional boundaries of Tamiḻakam, lying between *vēṅkaṭam* hill in the north and *kaṉṉiyākumari* in the south, with the sea to the west and the east, hadbeen somewhat diminished by the time these works were written. Puttamittiraṉār has not faced the problem by mentioning the northern and the southern boundaries only.[613] The commentator faces the problem, mentioning the sea in the east and *kuṭakam*, "the western country" in the west. The emergence

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606 *vīracōḻiyam*, peruntēvaṉār urai, tattitappaṭalam, pā 2–3.

607 Loc. cit. ciṅkaḷavaṉ pēcuvatu ciṅkaḷam, vaṭukaṉ pēcuvaṭu vaṭuku, tuḷuvaṉ *pēcuvatu tuḷuvu*, ---

608 *vīracōḻiyam*, *peruntēvaṉār urai*, tattitap*paṭalam*, *pā 8*.

609 *TL* 6, p. 3479.

610 Loc. cit.

611 *vīracōḻiyam*, peruntēvaṉār urai, tattitappaṭalam, pā 8. The grammarians as well as the commentator distinguish between vaṭamoḻi, "northern language"(=Sanskrit, Pāli and Prakrit), and the other then contemporaray languages. Puttamittiraṉār uses the expression vēṟu tēya col, "word from other countries" for the latter category. Peruntēvaṉār uses the expression piṟatēya ccoṟkaḷ, "words from other countries", for the same. *āriyam, vaṭuku, teluṅku, cāvakam. cōṉakam, ciṅkaḷam, papparam ivai mutalāya piṟatēya ccorkalaiyum tamiḻākkumiṭattu ivvilakkanattāṉē muṭikka*, "when words from other countries, such as āriyam, vaṭuku, cāvakam, cōṉakam, ciṅkaḷam and papparaṃ are Tamilised, utilise this grammar".

612 *vīracōḻiyam*, *peruntēvaṉār urai*, *alaṅkārappaṭalam*, pā 39.

613 *vīracōḻiyam*, peruntēvaṉār urai, *cantippaṭalam*, pā 8.

of the Malayāḷam identity is mentioned in one example as *malaiyāḷar pakkaṟ cēvakañ ceytāṉ*,[614] "he served the Malaiyalis". Campantar referred to Malaiyāḷi *piramāṇar* in the 7th century[615] and, most probably, a separate identity had started to evolve even by his time. The commentator also quotes from unidentified sources to exclude the western coast from the Tamiḻ tradition. The meanings of the concepts of *kaḷavu*, "premarital love", and *kaṟpu*, "chaste married life" have been widened to "love without wedding ritual" and "married life after wedding ritual" to include two each of the four main regions of Tamiḻakam—*kuṟiñci* and *neytal* for *kaḷavu* and *mullai* and *marutam* for *kaṟpu*.[616] According to a quotation from the commentator, the western hills and the eastern seaboard are the special areas for *kaḷavu*.[617] The western border is no longer the western sea; it has become the hills between Kēralam and Tamiḻnāṭu. So it is clear that Kerala was by then excluded from Tamiḻakam.

The meanings of the concepts of *kaḷavu*, "(clandestine) affair", referring to premartial love and *kaṟpu*, "instruction", referring to ideal rules for chaste married love appear to have undergone changes in this period. Early *akam* literary tradition specialises *kaḷavu* for *kuriñci*, referring to a hilly region, and *kaṟpu* for *mullai*, a "pastoral region". Peruntēvaṉār widens the meanings of the two concepts. He quotes from unknown authors who specify in the wider sense *kaḷavu* for *neytal*, "littoral region", in addition to the earlier hilly region, and kaṟpu for *marutam*, "agricultural region", in addition to the earlier pastoral region.[618] Aspects of both *kaḷavu* and *kaṟpu* are said to be prevalent in *pālai*, "waste land".[619]

It is the *vīracōḻiyam* that introduces the concept of a grammar of five sections for the Tamiḻ language. The *tolkāppiyam*, the ancient grammatical text, has only three sections, called *eḻuttu*, "phonology", *col*, "morphology-syntax", and *poruḷ*, "subject-matter". A tradition recorded in the commentary of *iṟaiyaṉār akapporuḷ* refers to the preoccupation of scholars with *poruḷ*, "affairs of life", like *akam* and *puṟam*, as the most important section of Tamiḻ grammar. The latter text, claiming a mythical origin from Lord Civaṉ, devotes all importance to *akam* as the gist of *poruḷ*. Its commentary develops the theme that the *akam* tradition is the Tamiḻ tradition, going so far as to say that Tamiḻ=*akam*. The *sūtra*s, cited by Peruntēvaṉār, have some interesting features worthy of observation. The meeting of the lovers in the hilly region, denoted by the term *kuṟiñci*, is described very elaborately. A marriage proposal sent to the family of the girl and the family rejecting the proposal is mentioned as occurring there, although the marriage ritual is not mentioned. The coastal region, known as *neytal*, is specialised for the pining of the lovesick girl in the *tolkāppiyam*, but in the citation here, *kalavi*, "sexual inter-

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[614] *vīracōḻiyam*, peruntēvaṉār urai, vēṟṟumaippaṭalam, pā 7.
[615] tēvāram, Vol 1, p. 181.
[616] *vīracōḻiyam, peruntēvaṉār urai*, poruṭpaṭalam, pā 7–11.
[617] Loc. cit. *kuṭavarai kkuṟiñciyum kuṇakaṭal neytaluṅ kaṭavat ākum kaḷaviṟk urittē.*
[618] Loc. cit.
[619] Loc. cit.

course" is given equal prominence. Proposing marriage with passion is mentioned as part of the love life there too and the marriage ritual is not mentioned either.

The pastoral region of *mullai* has the special characteristic of patient waiting by the lovesick wife in the early tradition and this has led to the development of the concept of *kaṟpu*, "chaste married life". In the *sūtra* cited, an elaboration can be seen in the description as "carrying on the obligation, having taken over the vow of chastity, having worshipped god". This seems to mark a high point in the development of the concept of *kaṟpu*, as it becomes a religious obligation also.

It is a little strange how the agricultural region of *marutam* came to be associated with *kaṟpu*. In the cited sūtra there is no explicit mention of the term. Sulking of married women is said to characterise the love life of the region from the early period. Prostitutes are held to be responsible for the problem. The citation in the commentary refers to the development of the malaise by describing four different kinds of *parattaiyar*, "public women". Accomplished courtesans serving as concubines are mentioned as one of those kinds. The cultivators had surplus wealth and they were said to long for festivals and celebrations, and engaged in pastimes like swimming and squatting and enjoying themselves in groves. But the intriguing thing in the description is that *marutam* is specifically referred to as the characteristic love life of *karutaṟk amainta kaṟṟōr*, "respectable, educated persons". Most probably, it was in the agricultural tract that an elite emerged as a result of the surplus wealth. This elite probably developed the concept of *kaṟpu* for *kula makaḷir*, "housewives", and at the same time permitted liaisons between men and *parattaiyar*, "public women".

It is interesting to note some changes that *vākai*, "fierce battle in arid land", a *puṟam* tradition had undergone. The warriors of each of the five different regions of Tamiḻakam were mentioned as wearing a particular flower, peculiar to the region, as an identifying mark when they went to war. The warriors of the arid region fought very hard and this aspect seems to have facilitated the semantic development of the concept of *vākai*, into striving very hard in any field and ultimately achieving brilliant success in any field. In the *vīracōḻiyam*, its connection with arid land is not noticeable. The author mentions it as outside of the seven *puṟam* divisions and includes *mēṉmai*, "subliminity", *tuṟavu*, "asceticism" and *koṭai*," liberality", among the matters covered by it.[620] The commentator has illustrated these matters with verses praising a puttar. The author also mentions *nāṟ kula ppakkam*, which the commentator explains as referring to the four-fold caste division of the society. He also mentions the duties of each caste. The Sanskrit term *śūdra* has been rendered by him as *vēḷāḷar* and one of their six duties is said to be *antaṇar vaḻiy oḻukal*, "following in the footsteps of the *pirāmaṇar*".[621] The commentator was probably refer-

[620] puttamittiraṉār, *vīracōḻiyam*, poruṭpaṭalam, pā 13, 19.
[621] Ibid., pā 19.

ring to the process of Sanskritisation that was going on then in contemporary Tamiḻ society. The meaning of *vākai* had become so elastic that some grammarians must have felt unease at counting it as *puṟam*, which at one stage mainly dealt with wars. The commentator quotes a *nūṟpā* (*sūtra*), which makes it one of the *puṟappuṟam*, along with *potuviyal*, "miscellaneous", and *pāṭāṇ*, "praise", and thus further away from *puṟam*. *kāñci*, as one of the seven *puṟam* divisions, refers to impermanence in the *tolkāppiyam*. The *vīracōḻiyam* retains the division within the same category. It is there that *tīppāytal*, [622] "jumping into the fire", is mentioned. This is explained as the custom of the widow, who commits suicide by jumping into the fire when her husband's body is cremated.

It is Tolkāppiyar's concept of *poruḷ* that leads to the development of two additional sections in *yāppu*, "prosody" and *aṇi*, "rhetoric". Grammarians seem to have been very active in the period between the publication of these two works, but the intermediate works have not survived. However, references to them occur in various commentaries including Peruntēvaṉār's and an outline of the developments can be pieced together. Aviṉayar was apparently a great grammarian who lived in the period between the writing of the *tolkāppiyam* and the *vīracōḻiyam*. He is mentioned in laudatory terms by Peruntēvaṉār in the sections on *col* and *yāppu*. At the end of the section on *col*, the commentator quotes two verses mentioning that Tolkāppiyar analysed *col* under eight heads while Aviṉayar analysed the same under thirteen heads, and then explains these quotations. In the section on prosody, explaining the author's cryptic reference to his predecessors work, the commentator refers to Aviṉayar, mentioning him along with Mayēcuvaraṉār, Kākkaipāṭiṉiyār and Amutacākaraṉar, who were also said to have made worthwhile contributions to prosody studies.[623] Peruntēvaṉār mentions another grammarian Palkāyaṉār, as having classified what Tolkāppiyar had elaborated, which also seems to be a reference to prosody. Only the works of Amutacākaraṉār are available now. In another context, dealing with *vaṇṇam*, "verse, rhythm", the author refers to twenty kinds, to which the commentator comments that although this was Tolkāppiyar asserted, there are also those who refer to one hundred kinds. The publisher's note, obtained from another source, mentions that Kaiyaṉār and Aviṉayar classified one hundred kinds.[624]

Puttamittiraṉār wanted to include only one section on prosody in his handbook. He had plenty of material—an elaborate chapter from the *tolkāppiyam* as well as many later works. In this section it is very difficult to say that he follows a contrastive-transfer grammar approach. The first twenty-four verses deal with developments in Tamiḻ prosody, even though he uses some Sanskrit technical terms. Subsequently, he deals with some Sanskrit verse forms peculiar to Sanskrit and not found in Tamiḻ.

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[622] puttamittiraṉār, *vīracōḻiyam*, poruṭpaṭalam, pā 17.
[623] *vīracōḻiyam*, peruntēvaṉār urai, *yāppuppaṭalam*, *pā 18*.
[624] *vīracōḻiyam*, *yāppuppaṭalam*, pā 36, ci vai tāmōtarampiḷḷai, [editorial note].

Amutacākaraṉār of the 10th century treats prosody and rhetoric together in his *yāppalaṅkāram*. Puttamittiraṉār himself says in his first verse of the fifth section that he follows Taṇṭi (Dandin, author of Sanskrit *Kāvyadharśa*) for that entire section. He also acknowledges his indebtedness to Taṇṭi in verses 147 and 160[625]. The author has given the rules in Tamiḻ and the commentator has given the illustrations in Tamiḻ. Both of them might have to be given credit for the collection of Tamiḻ illustrations. *vīracōḻiyam* is the first Tamiḻ grammatical work that explicitly mentions that words with Sanskrit letters should not be used in Tamiḻ poetry. This injunction occurs as a positive statement in verse 142 and as a negative statement in verse 143. In the prose style of *maṇippiravāḷam*, in which words of Sanskrit origin, with or without Sanskrit letters, occupy almost half of the vocabulary, the author probably wanted to preserve the purity of the style of Tamiḻ poetry. There is a Tamiḻ work *taṇṭiyalaṅkāram*, which is generally considered a translation of Dandin's Sanskrit original. This seems to owe a lot to the fifth section of the *vīracōḻiyam*, as some of the titles seem to be translations or refinements and a large number of Tamiḻ illustrations are the same in both works. As Tamiḻ *taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* has been well edited, it is possible to improve the texts of some Tamiḻ illustrations in the *vīracōḻiyam*.

## 5.7. The Significance of a Damaged Tamiḻ Pautta Inscription from Tiruccōpuram of the Thirteenth Century

### *Aḷvāppiḷḷai Vēluppiḷḷai*

The text of this inscription was published in *South Indian Inscriptions* in 1903–1904.[626] As that particular volume was devoted to the epigraphical collection from the year 1903–04, this inscription must also have been collected during that year. This inscription was discovered on stray stones on the roof of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine in the Maṅkalapurīcuvarar kōvil. The inscription must have been originally made in a Buddhist temple, which disappeared without trace. The stones from that temple were used for the building of the Civaṉ temple at a later time and the inscribed portions were put there to tell a story about a Tamiḻ Pautta past.

Six lines of the inscription have been published. The inscription remains fragmentary. Even from the available stones, many letters could not be deciphered. The photographic plate of the inscription has not been published and so the published text is the only source for this study.

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[625] According to the publisher's note in *vīracōḻiyam*, kā ra kōvintaraca mutaliyār patippu 1970, patippāḷar urai, pa iii, the *tolkāppiyam* and the *kāvyadharṣa* are the authorities for the *vīracōḻiyam*. There is no internal evidence for Puttamittiraṉār holding Tolkāppiyar in great respect.

[626] Krishnan, "No. 13. p. 32". The editor-in-chief of this volume is grateful to Nā Cēturāmaṉ from Kumpakōṇam for bringing this inscription to his attention.

The date portion in this inscription is lost. According to Kiruṣṇaṉ (K. G. Krishnan), the editor of this particular SII volume, palaeographically the inscription may be assigned to the 13th century.[627] The inscription mentions *caṭapaṉmar cuntara pāṇṭiyaṉ*, who can be identified with Jatavarman Sundara Pandya (1251–1268 AD).[628] He was probably the greatest of the Pāṇṭiyaṉ kings. During this period, he led his armies to the north, conquering and replacing the earlier Cōḻa empire with the Pāṇṭiyaṉ empire. He also led invasions into Ilaṅkai. According to Nilakanta Sastri, "…The vast treasure that fell into the hands of Sundara as a result of his wars was used to beautify and enrich impartially the great shrines of Civaṉ and Vishnu at Chidambaram and Śrīrangam."[629]

The Buddhist inscription here does not deal with a royal endowment. The donor refers to himself as *cāriputtira paṇṭitaṉēṉ*, "I who am Cāriputtira Paṇṭitaṉ".[630] The word *paṇṭitaṉ* is a Tamiḻised form of the Sanskrit *paṇḍita*, meaning "scholar". He introduces himself as one of the disciples of a person whose name ends as ---------*tar*, indicating that he might be another scholar, referred to politely in Tamiḻ. Cāriputtira Paṇṭitaṉ had made the endowment from *eṉṉ(u)tāy nāṉ aṉupavittu varukiṟa iraṇṭān tākkil*, [631] "from the second plot of land, which belongs to me and which I enjoy".

The last line refers to *uvāppaṭikku*, "for fixed allowance (during) *uvā*." The word *uvā* stands for full moon and new moon, days which are sacred in the Buddhist calendar and when the *upōsatha* ceremony is observed. The same line uses the Hindu word kōyil for the Buddhist temple and not paḷḷi or vikāram. This line also refers to *pākāciriya urimaikaḷ*, "rights of morally eminent teachers". *pākaṉ*, a derivative from Sanskrit *pāka*, has been given the explanation "one who has attained moral or spiritual ripeness" by the *Tamiḻ Lexicon*.[632] The fifth line refers to an endowment to *caṅkattārkku*, "to members of the *saṅgha*", who were present on that day. This should indicate that at least some members of the *saṅgha* were present to receive the gift. What has been read as *potukaṟ pūcaikku* may have to be read instead as *pōtukaḷ pūcaikku*, "flowers for offering" to make sense.

There is an interesing place name with a Buddhist connection. This inscrip-

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[627] Krishnan realised the importance of this inscription. In his "Introduction" to the volume *SII*, 17,covering nine pages, he allocates almost one page (vi -vii) to discuss its historical significance. His references have been valuable to the author of this paper. Vide *SII*, 17, pp. i–ix.

[628] Sastri, *A History*.., pp. 215– 216.

[629] Ibid., p. 216.

[630] Krishnan, "Introduction", *SII* 17, p. vi, has a footnote mentioning that the title *paṇṭita* reminds us of the name of another Buddhist scholar, viz., *āgamapaṇṭita*, recorded in one of the Nākappaṭṭiṉam bronzes. Elliot, "The Edifice …. ", p. 226.

[631] The name *cāriputtira* appears to be a Tamiḻised form of a Sanskrit name. The equivalent Pāli form is Sāriputta. Walpola Rahula places a Sāriputta in the 13th century. Rahula, *History* . , p. 157 note. Malalasekara treats him as a contemporary of Parākramabāhu the Great. Vide Malalasekere, *The Pāli Literature of Ceylon*…, p. 190. In Tamiḻakam a *cāriputtirar* is also mentioned as a donor of an image of Buddha found near Nākappaṭṭiṉam. Vide Ramachandran, "The Nāgapaṭṭiṉam… p. 38.

[632] *TL* 5, p. 2580.

tion mentions *vecāli* but the subsequent words could not be made out. It is, however, possible to reconstruct the word from another inscription collected from the same locality. *vecāli* occurs as the name of *vecālippāṭi nāṭu*, where *nāṭu* is a territorial division, bigger than *ūr*, a normal village or town. Vesāli is well known as a locality where a puttar performed many miracles. *pāṭi* is a Dravidian place name, mostly found in pastoral tracts. There must have been a substantial Buddhist community, sufficiently influential for some time at least, for it to have adopted this name for the *nāṭu*.

The name of the town or village is illegible in the Buddhist inscription, which was discovered on the roof of a Civaṉ temple at Tiruccōpuram. Many Tamiḻ inscriptions have been discovered at Tiruccōpuram and so it is quite possible that this Buddhist inscription also belongs to this locality. According to the editor of this inscription, the place belongs to Kaṭalūr Vaṭṭam in Teṉṉārkkāṭu Māvaṭṭam. The name of the region is given as *naṭuvil nāṭāṉa irājarāja vaḷanāṭṭu*, "intermediate country which has become *irācarāca vaḷanāṭu*". The *naṭunāṭu* is the classical name for the *teṉpeṇṇai* river valley, located between the Cōḻanāṭu and the Toṇṭaināṭu. The latter name must have been given to the region during the Cōḻa imperial rule.

In the place name Tiruccōpuram, *tiru*, "sacred", is a prefix and Cōpuram must have been the earlier form. It does not look like a Tamiḻ name. The Tamiḻ Lexicon derives *cō-* from Sanskrit *śoṇita-pura* and glosses the word as the city of Bāṇāsura and as a fortification. The first attestation of this place name in Tamiḻ occurs in Saint Campantar's *tēvāram* of the 7th century AD. Saint Appar of the same period was associated with Pāṭaliputra Jain monastery in Kaṭalūr Vaṭṭam. These were indications that religious movements from North India were establishing themselves along the seaboard in that area. It is not known when the Buddhists established themselves in Cōpuram.

It will be interesting to see whether any clue is available in Campantar's hymn to trace any Buddhist influence from the locality. The ninth stanza of his hymn refers to the Buddhists and the Caiṉar and he wonders why Civaṉ enjoyed seeing the Buddhists and Caiṉar telling lies and going crazy. The Buddhists, and not the Caiṉar, are mentioned first in this stanza; the Buddhist and Jain teachings, and not the behavior and customs of the Buddhist and Jain monks, are targeted.[633] Besides this, another observation can be made, by placing this hymn against the background of Saint Māṇikkavācacakar's *tiruccāḻal*[634], referred to as preserving a portion of the religious debate between that saint and a Buddhist monk.

The *tiruccāḻal* is in the form of questions and answers, questioning the significance of Civaṉ's mythical exploits, and justifying them as feats of grace.[635]

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[633] The significance of these observations will become clear in the background of Campantar's polemics against the Jains and the Pauttas. Vide Vēluppiḷḷai, "The Hindu Confrontation …", pp. 335– 364.

[634] māṇikkavācakar, *tiruvācakam*, 1964), pa 204–213. Pope, *Tiruvacagam*, pp. 159–167.

[635] Vēluppiḷḷai's paper on "Tiruvācakar and Īḻam Buddhism" which is appearing in section 4.4.

Campantar lived two centuries earlier than Māṇikkavācakar, but he must have faced similar questions from the Buddhists and the Caiṉar. Campantar has questions in each stanza of about 15 of his 385 hymns. Some of these questions just wonder why Civaṉ, well-established in one temple, chose to move to another temple. But in 11 hymns, Campantar has questions regarding the significance of Civaṉ's mythical exploits and iconography. Campantar had a religious debate with the Caiṉar in Maturai and then travelled around the Pāṇṭiya country.[636] But none of these hymns contain these questions. He also had a debate with the Buddhists at Pōtimaṅkai; it was only after this debate that he seems to have composed most of the hymns with the questions. Two of the hymns from *naṭunāṭu*, from *āmāttūr* and *cōpuram*, contain these questions.

The questions from *cōpuram patikam* in each of the stanzas are as follows:

1. Why did (you) enjoy covering yourself with bloody elephant skin and sharing your body with a woman?
2. Why did (you) sit on a bull, carry an axe, and bear cool water hidden in your scattered braid of hair?
3. Why did (you) hit strong evil *arakkar* (*rākṣasa*) to be immersed in fire and protect the vāṉavar (celestials)?
4. Why did (you) take over willingly a life of penury, carrying a skull without teeth, and collecting offerings from many households?
5. Why did (you) enjoy having moon high on top of red braids of hair with fragrant koṉṟai flower?
6. Why did (you), the possessor of the murderous trident and the sharp battle axe weapon, decorate yourself with golden coloured koṉṟai flower garland?
7. Why did (you) become the embodiment of learning, listening and wisdom when your devotees praise you for perfection and absolute truth?
8. How do (you) explain the concept behind your action in burning towns of strong arakkar kulam, "rākṣasa tribes", utilising a mountain as the bow?
9. What was the reason for you enjoying drink of poison, churned out from the ocean, by using a cobra- coiled mountain as churning staff?
10. How do (you) explain your conduct, enjoying seeing the Buddhists and Caiṉar telling lies and becoming crazy?

The questions have been framed as if they were directed at Civaṉ. The same pattern has also been followed in Campantar's other ten patikams.

In this connection it is interesting to note the *Cūlavaṁsa*, the Pāli chronicle, carrying a report that Paṇḍita Parākramabāhu II, who ruled in Ilaṅkai in the 13th century, "sent many gifts to the Coḷa country and caused to be brought over to Tambapaṇṇi many respected Coḷa Bhikkhus who had moral discipline and were versed in the three Piṭakas and so established harmony between the two orders."[637] The 13th century saw the emergence of the Pāṇṭiyar as the

[636] cēkkiḻār, *periyapurāṇam*, 1921, pā 884–913. The *periyapurāṇam* is the primary source for Tiruñāṉacampantamūrtti nāyaṉmār's life.

imperial power in South India, and from whom Ilaṅkai faced invasion. The Cōḻas and the Ciṅkaḷavar probably came closer together and Buddhist contacts probably cemented their relations. But unfortunately, this *cōpuram* Buddhist inscription is the only available document from the Tamiḻ side for Buddhism in Tamiḻakam of the 13th century.

## 5.8. An Epigraphic Reference to a puttar *kōyil* in the Sixteenth Century

### *Āḷvāppiḷḷai Vēluppiḷḷai*

A reference to a puttar kōyil occurs in a Tamiḻ inscription dated 1580 AD, and edited by Veṅkōpa Rāv (G. Venkoba Rao) in *Epigraphia Indica*, volume 19.[638] The inscription was discovered in a place apparently not directly connected with the contents of the inscription. It is engraved on the door jamb of the entrance into the inner *prākāra* of the Kumbheśvara temple at Kumpakōṇam in the heartland of the Cōḻa country. The photographic plate of the inscription has not been published; so it is not possible for the present writer to check the accuracy of the decipherment. The transliteration of the text does not seem to follow any system so I have had to depend on guesswork at some points. The inscription is in 28 lines, each line having a minimum of 2 letters and a maximum of 10 letters. It is dated in the *āṭi mātam* (Tamiḻ month equivalent to July–August) in the cyclic year *vikkirama* (=Sanskrit *vikrama*) *varuṣam* during the reign of Cevvappa Nāyakkar, the first of the Tañcāvūr Nāyakkar dynasty. As another copper plate grant belonging to him and dated in the Śaka era 1502 (= 1580 AD) was also issued from Kumpakōṇam, this record can safely be dated to 1580 AD. The Tamiḻ word *āṇṭu*, "year", which is very common in early Tamiḻ epigraphical usage, has been replaced here by the Sanskrit loanword *varuṣam*. The Tamiḻ word used for the ruler is *ayyaṉ*, which, in addition to having an alternate form *aiyaṉ*, has many meanings like "father", "sage", "teacher", "master", "king", etc. Even though Teluṅku (Telugu), the language of the Nāyakka ruler, has the form *ayya/aya*, its meaning there is restricted to "father".[639]

Even though Cevvappa Nāyakkar's special leaning was towards Vaiṇavam, he also patronised other religions. Inscription No. 425 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1924 relates to some gifts of land made by Cevvappa to a mosque at Tañcāvūr in the year corresponding to 1549 AD.[640] This in-

[637] *Cv* 84: 9–10.
[638] Rao, "Kumbakonam Inscription of Sevvappa-Nayaka", pp. 215–17.
[639] *DED*, Item 196 (a), p. 19.
[640] Rao, "Kumbakonam Inscription…. ", p. 215.

scription mentions a Buddhist temple at Tiruvilantuṟai but it is not clear whether any benefit is intended for the Buddhist community. The benefit is for *akaram*, Sanskrit *agrahāra*, the "*brāhmaṇa* quarter" at Tirumalairācapuram. A channel had been dug to bring water to the Brahmin settlement, most probably from one of the tributaries of Kāviri river. The word for the channel occurs as *vākkāl*, instead of *vāykkāl*. The elision of the semivowel -y- when followed by a long hard consonant occurs in epigraphical usages from early times.[641] Tiruvilantuṟai must have stood on the banks of this tributary, as is clear from the place name suffix *-tuṟai*, which indicates a waterfront.

It should be noted that the Buddhist institution is referred to as a *kōyil*, the general Tamiḻ designation for Caiva and Vaiṇava temples and not as a *paḷḷi*, as is usually the case in Tamiḻ usage for non-Śaiva and non-Vaiṇava establishments in the mediaeval period. It may be an indication that Buddhism was not vibrant in that period and the Buddhists were being assimilated into the Caiva and Vaiṇava population. The Tamiḻ term has an alternate form in *kōvil*, which is preferred by grammarians.[642]

The entire town of Tirumalairācapuram does not appear to be an *agrahāra*, as the inscription says expressly *tirumalairācapurattil akarattil*, "at *akaram* (situated) in Tirumalairācapuram". The place name Tirumalairācapuram is half Tamiḻ and half Sanskrit and this most probably indicates that both *brāhmaṇas* and non-*brāhmaṇas* were living there. The people who dug the channel are *makā caṉaṅkaḷ*, "great people", of that town. This expression is a Tamiḻised version of the Sanskrit *mahājana*, which again seems to be a translation of *peru makkaḷ,* found in earlier Tamiḻ records. The land which was gifted in lieu of payment for digging (and perhaps maintaining) the channel is mentioned as 2 3/4. As no measure is specified, it should be taken as referring to so many units of *vēli,* which was the standard land measure, equivalent to 6.74 acres,[643] in the Cōḻa country.

Veṅkōpa Rāv has tried to identify Tiruvilantuṟai and Tirumalairācapuram. He mentions Tiruvalañcuḻi, which is four miles away from Kumpakōṇam, having a standing image of a puttar placed near the gopura of its Civaṉ temple. But there is no other evidence to equate Tiruvilantuṟai and Tiruvalañcuḻi. He also mentions Elantuṟai, a village about 9 miles away from Kumpakōṇam, but there is only a certain similarity in their names. Regarding Tirumalairācapuram, he cites a Tirumalairācapuram alias Cuṅkantavirtta Cōḻanallūr, which has been identified as being adjacent to Karuntiṭṭaikkuṭi in the Tañcāvūr area. The present writer is unable to throw any light on this problem of identif-

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[641] Vēluppiḷḷai, *A Study of Dialects* ...., pp. 17, 160, 420, 675, 928. The linguistic term for this feature is syncopation. The medial consonants that undergo elision are -y-, -r- and -ḷ-. This occurs in Tamiḻ inscriptions from the seventh-eighth centuries. The occurrence of *vākkāl* instead of *vākkāl* first occurs in a ninth century inscription.

[642] According to the *naṉṉūl*, the authoritative medieval Tamiḻ grammar, -v- is the semi-vowel for the prevention of hiatus between vowels, when the initial vowel is ō-. Vide pavaṇanti, *naṉṉūl*, 1984, nūṟpa 192.

[643] *TL* 6, p. 3838.

icating places except to point out that these two places must have been adjacent to each other.

The digging of the channel comes under the category of *tiruppaṇi cērvai*. The word *paṇi* means work or service; when *tiru-* becomes a prefix, it denotes service in a temple or building and/or repairing work in a temple.[644] Bringing water for the *brāhmaṇa* quarter becomes a *tiruppaṇi* in this record. The word *cērvai* stands for association or union. So the land gift was meant for the association of people who were digging the channel.

The personal name that occurs in lines 14–15 as Tītta Māmaruntā Nāyakar is very interesting. It occurs in between *puttar kōyil*, "the Buddhist temple", and *nilattil*, "in the land", and so seems to refer to a title of a puttar. The Tamiḻised epithet *tītta* stands for the Sanskrit *tīrthakara*, "holy person". This title is closely identified with Jain divinities and Veṅkōpa Rāv adds a footnote that in Tamiḻ, *puttar kōyil* is sometimes also loosely applied to a Jain temple. But this usage seems very unlikely in the Kumpakōṇam-Tañcāvūr area as the people there must have been familiar with the difference between the Buddhist and the Jain communities. The Jain community, albeit in very small numbers, continued to survive in this area and Buddhist finds, indicating the existence of a distinct Buddhist community in the mediaeval period, are also available from the same region. There is one seated image in the temple at Paṭṭīcuvaram near Kumpakōṇam, and another, now popularly called "Bhagavarishi", lying outside the Piḷḷaiyār temple in the Āṉaiyaṭi street in Kumpakōṇam. The title *māmaruntā nāyakar* can be glossed as "the lord of super medicine", equivalent to a great physician. Veṅkōpa Rāv mentions in a note that Māmaruntā stands for Sanskrit *amṛta*, "ambrosia". This meaning is possible in certain contexts. Most probably a puttar icon in the temple had that title.

The last two lines of the inscription have two words, *camayattār kurukkaḷ*, which have been translated by Veṅkōpa Rāv as "(this is under the protection of) the Kurukkaḷ of the Faith (*camayam*)". The loanword *camayam*, from the Sanskrit *samaya*, can mean many things like agreement, or contract, besides faith. It is difficult to specify its meaning from the context in this inscription. But the word *kurukkaḷ*, from the Sanskrit *guru-*, is interesting. Even though it can refer to priests in general in rare a usage, it is usually specialised for Śaiva priests, either Brahmin or Vēḷāḷar.[645] In this inscription dealing with the Brahmin quarter, the person of responsiblity must have been the Śaiva Brahmin priest. Then it makes sense why the record was inscribed on a door jamb of the Kumbheśvara temple, which is a Civaṉ temple. The priest of the temple at that time might have been the *kurukkaḷ* mentioned in the inscription. Even though the form *kurukkaḷ* can denote the plural in certain contexts, it usually denotes the polite singular form. The usual plural form is *kurumār* or *kurukkaḷmār*.

The form *dammam* (=*tammam* ?), "charitable deed", occurring in this inscription is peculiar. The popular Caiva and Vaiṇava form is *tarumam/tar-*

[644] Ibid., 3, p. 1907.
[645] Ibid., 2, p. 1013.

*mam*, derived from the Sanskrit *dharma*. The earliest attestation of the forms *dhammam* and *dhamam* (=*tammam/tamam*) in Tamiḻ occur in two Tamiḻ-Brahmi inscriptions[646] from Māṅkuḷam, assigned to the pre-Christian era and now considered to be donative records to Jain monks. *dhammam* is also the Pāli form, cherished by the Buddhists. It is not clear how this form came into this inscription.

The writing of *cevuvappa* for *cevvappa* appears to be an orthographical error.

To sum up, the Tamiḻ inscriptions of the Cōḻa period in Tamiḻakam and the Tamiḻ inscriptions in Ilaṅkai use words like *paḷḷi*, *vikāram* and *kōyil* (*kōvil*) when referring to Buddhist places of worship, in the order of decreasing rates of frequency. The usage of terms like paḷḷi and vikāram indicates the situation when Buddhism was considered a distinct religion. The context of the use of the word kōyil in these inscriptions suggests that the dominant Śaivism tried to incorporate Buddhism into Śaivism by classifying Buddhist places of worship along with Śaiva ones. The context of the usage of kōyil in this inscription seems to indicate that Buddhism was no longer alive in the region. Nobody from the Buddhist kōyil is apparently involved in the transaction mentioned in this inscription. The Buddhist kōyil was probably just a landmark, the local people still retaining a memory of its land endowment, which had not yet been appropriated by others.

[646] Mahadevan, *Corpus* ..., p. 4. It is interesting to note that these are the only two records among the Tamiḻ Brāhmī inscriptions which mention the name of Neṭuñceḻiyaṉ, identified as a Pāṇṭiya king.

CHAPTER 6

# The Period of the Imperial Cōḻar. Īḻam

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# 6.1. Introduction to the Study of Buddhism among Tamils in Īḷam during the Period of the Cōḷas

*Peter Schalk*

## 6.1.1. "The *ciṅkaḷa(va)r* of Rough Strength"

The period 900–1300 was dominated by Cōḷa expansion in South India towards Īḷam and South-East Asia. It has been described by ĀḷvāppiḷḷaiVēluppiḷḷai in section 2.2.9.–2.2.12. When speaking about Buddhism among Tamils, this expansion has to be considered as fundamental. All our sources are either direct expressions of this expansion or reflect it. By expansion I not only refer to war, but also to economic and cultural expansion that took place between the wars.

The Cōḷa King Irācarācaṉ (Rājarāja) (985–1016) conquered several countries, among them Īḷam in 993, which was included in his empire as *īḷamaṇṭalam*. The city that we know today as Polonnaṟuvai or as Pulatthinagara in the vaṃsa-tradition, he called in Sanskrit *jananāthamaṅgalam* after one of his titles, *jananātha*, "saviour of the people". The capital's name was, therefore, the "auspicious place of the saviour of the people"; he must have had a special sense of humour that self-conscious conqueror. He also had a Civaṉ kōvil built there, but as we have seen, he was not exclusive in his religious thinking.

King Irācarācaṉ was not successful in controlling the whole island, but he maintained his authority in the eastern part.[1] His son Irācēntiraṉ tried to capture the south—also unsuccessfully. In 1077 the Cōḷa occupation was ended, partially due to the resistance by Vijabāhu I (1059–1114, 1055 1110). (He was elected while the island was still under Cōḷa occupation).

Irācarācaṉ characterized Īḷam as *eṇṭicai pukaḻ tara īḷamaṇṭalam*, "*īḷamaṇṭalam* famed in eight directions".[2] There was status in conquering this island because of its wealth. Irācarācaṉ was evidently impressed by the resist-

[1] See Gunasingam, "Some Aspects…", pp. 26–34.
[2] Hultzsch, "I.—Inscriptions at Māmallapuram…", p. 64.

ance of the enemy because he also characterized the *īḻamaṇṭalam* as *muraṭṭeḻil ciṅkaḷar īḻamaṇṭalam*, "the īḻamaṇṭalam of the ciṅkaḷar of rough strength".[3]

In another variant reading, he characterized *īḻamaṇṭalam* as *muraṭṭoḻil ciṅkaḷar īḻamaṇṭalam*, "*īḻamaṇṭalam* of the warlike *ciṅkaḷa(va)r*".[4] There is yet another variant reading where the *ciṅkaḷar* are represented by *perukaṭalīḻattairacar tamuṭi*,[5] "the crown of the King of Īḻam rough like the sea".

Sometimes the same passage of an inscription shifts between *īḻam* and *īḻamaṇṭalam*. An example is an inscription by Irācēntiraṉ 1012–1044. He also had his conquests inscribed on stone. Among them was *peru kaṭalīḻattaracar tamuṭi*, "the crown of the king of Īḻam rough like the sea". Then directly afterwards, there is the famous often repeated statement that he conquered *īḻamaṇṭalamuḻuvaṭu*, "the whole of *īḻamaṇṭalam*".[6] An explicit alternation to *īḻamaṇṭalam* among the Cōḻas was *mummaṭicōḻamaṇṭalam*,[7] "the Cōḻa hemisphere of the Three Crowns". All these toponyms indicate that Īḻam was regarded as integrated within the Cōḻa empire.

An ambitious *tamiḻppērakarāti* gives *ilaṅkai* as a referent for *īḻamaṇṭalam*[8] so as to leave no doubt that *īḻamaṇṭalam* is *ilaṅkai*.

In *īḻa-nāṭu*,[9] Īḻam refers to the island as an administrative unit *nāṭu*, "division", "province", of the imperial Cōḻas. *īḻa-nāṭu* means "the province Īḻam". It indicates, like *īḻa-maṇṭalam*, that Īḻam was made part of the Cōḻa empire.

At the beginning of the 13th century, a Tamiḻ King called *śrī-cuntarapāṇṭiyatēvar* ((Maravarman) Sundara Pandya) classified Īḻam as a *ticai* (Sanskrit *diśā)*, an administrative unit (to which he claimed a hereditary right).[10] Here it is also clear that Īḻam refers to the island, but the compound **īḻa-t-ticai* is not available.

The view that Īḻam was part of the Cōḻa empire was a claim, not a description. It is an embellishment in the inscriptions, especially of those known in Sanskrit as *praśasti*, "praise", and in Tamiḻ as *meykkīrṭṭi*, "true fame". Sometimes they are so exaggerated that hardly anybody at that time would have read them as historical descriptions. They were read as emotional and boosting examples of the literary art of making embellishments.[11]

One person's praise implies sometimes another person's blame. The other

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[3] Hultzsch, "No 4…", p. 42, line 2.Id., "No. 66…", p. 95.Id.,, "No 6….", p. 68–69, line 3–4. Id., "No 65…", p. 254, line 4.
[4] Hultzsch, "No. 3…", p. 7.
[5] Hultzsch, "No 20, p. 106.
[6] Hultzsch, "No. 67, p. 98. Id., "No. 9..", p. 91. Id.,. "No. 10…, p. 93. Id., "No. 54…", p. 220. Id., "No. 82…", p. 403. Id., "No. 18…", p. 27.
[7] Hultzsch, "no. 92…", p. 426.
[8] *tamiḻpperakarāti*, pa 130. So does *centamiḻ akarāti*, tokuppāciriyār na ci kantaiyarpiḷḷai 1957, pa 62. *tamiḻcollakarāti*, pa 598.
[9] Venkattasubba Ayyar, "The Pallavarayanpettai Inscription…", pp. 190. *TL* 1, p. 382. *centamiḻ akarāti*, 1957, pa 6, gives *ilaṅkai* as referent to *īḻanāṭu*. tamiḻcollakarāti, pa 598.
[10] Subrahmanya Aiyar, "No. 22….", p. 167.
[11] For *meykkīrttikaḷ* see Thillainathan, "A Study of the Maykkiirthis of the Cholas", pp. 179–181

person in this case was Irāvaṇaṉ, the evil King of Ilaṅkai. Irācarācaṉ saw his conquest in terms of mythology being repeated in life. He was Irāmaṉ who subdued Irāvaṇaṉ. Demonisation made warfare plausible in spite of its disadvantages. This conflict between Irāmaṉ and Irāvaṇaṉ was seen in moral categories. Irāmaṉ was good and Irāvaṇaṉ was bad. Good conquers evil. It is the same old universal story applied to the main figures on the battle fields in Īḷam.

The *ciṅkaḷa(va)r* were not only of rough strength. Their association with the evil type of king made them evil. This was the emotional part of the conflict which motivated the masses to take up arms against these demons. Some needed no such motivation. I am thinking of the mercenaries. Among them were fighters from the Cōḷa, Pāṇṭiya and Cērar countries, but also from Ciṅkaḷam. A mercenary fights for money, not for the motherland, for a puttaṉ or for Civaṉ.

The rational reason for conducting the wars was for territory. It was not for the preservation of ethnicity, for Tamilness or for Caivam, but for resources. The Cōḷas objectified the island as a source of income to maintain institutions in Tamiḻakam and as a springboard for further military and economic expansion to the East. Their aim was pragmatic. For them—with some few exceptions that prove the rule—the decisive choice in the life of the individual was not between Buddhism and Caivam, but between participation in this expansion or refusal to do so. They could support Buddhists if this support was a means to a desired end, for example, to open up trade routes with South-East Asia. They were not anti-Buddhist, but they were not pro-Buddhist either. Their ultimate concern was to obtain control over land. The problem for the Cōḷas was that their motives were understood otherwise by their victims. These depicted them not only as bloodsucking *yakkhā*, to which the Cōḷas may have agreed, but also as anti-Buddhist demons. Land was not just land for exploitation according to the Ciṅkaḷa(va)r of rough strength. Land was in this case land that was sealed by a buddha. The island had received the *dhamma* as a lamp that would shine for all everywhere on the island. The taking of land was interpreted as a sacrilege in the vaṃsa-tradition.

When Vijayabāhu I recaptured Pulatthinagara in 1077, after about three generations of Cōḷa occupation, one would have expected what we today call ethnic cleansing to occur. But it did not. Vijayabāhu had crushed the military resistance in the city, but around him there were still areas and cities dominated by Cōḷa interests and Pulatthinagara was also soon retaken by Cōḷa forces.[12] Knowing this, Vijayabāhu I chose to integrate the two main professional groups, the Tamiḻ merchants and the mercenaries, into his administration. His successors continued the same practice. There is no indication that he and his successors had a racial view that excluded Tamils from institution-building just because they were Tamils. He even patronized the construction

[12] For Vijaybāhu see Nilakanta Sastri, "Vijabāhu I …", pp. 45–71.

of Caiva kōvils. True, the vaṃsa-tradition has chosen to depict him as motivated by Buddhism only, but his inscriptions give another picture: he also, like the Cōḻas, was rational and pragmatic.

Soon, we find Tamiḻ merchants sponsoring pauttappaḷḷis and Tamiḻ mercenaries taking service under Sinhala-speaking rulers.[13] Some of these mercenaries were, or became,Buddhists. I shall now focus on these two groups during the Cōḻa period in Īḻam. When I say that somebody was, is, or became a Buddhist, I refer to his/her acting supportively on behalf of Buddhism. I cannot look into his/her heart. There may be several reasons to turn to Buddhism.

## 6.1.2. Tamiḻ Merchants' and Mercenaries' Interpretations of Buddhism

### 6.1.2.1. Tamiḻ Merchants

I mentioned earlier that Tamiḻ merchants and mercenaries cultivated Buddhism. Let us look at the merchants first.[14]

Civacuppiramaṇiyam Patmanātaṉ has highlighted the ninth century connection between Kēraḷa merchants belonging to the trading community known as Ayyāvoḷē, and Anurādhapura. Some of these merchants actively supported a Buddhist institution known in Tamiḻ as paḷḷi, i.e. a *vihāra*.

Civacuppiramaṇiyam Patmanātaṉ shows that an inscription found in Anurādhapura was set up by a group of people called *nāṅkunāṭṭār*, "those of the *nāṅkunāṭu*". The expression *nālku nāṭu*, which is the Kaṉṉaṭam equivalent of the Tamiḻ form *nāṅkunāṭu*, is applied in inscriptions from Karnāṭakam as the designation of a trading community associated with the Ayyāvoḷē. It would appear that the same name was adopted in a modified form to describe a community of Tamiḻ merchants. There are indications suggesting that the Tamils of the *nāṅkunāṭu* referred to in the inscription from Anurādhapura had connections with the Cēra country on the Malabar coast.

The connection between merchants and Buddhism becomes evident in a Tamiḻ inscription from the 11th century. The inscription does not record any donation nor does it contain any dedicatory expression. Although the purpose for which it was erected is not explicitly stated, by implication it was intended as a commemorative monument proclaiming the establishment of a paḷḷi and therein lies its unusual significance. This paḷḷi is recorded as being at Bagicinakay in the *pati* of the *ticaiyāyirattu aiñṉūṟṟuvar*. This record is significant also for providing some indication of the settlement of the mercantile community called *aiñṉūṟṟuvar*, otherwise known as *nāṉātēci*, at Poloṉṉaṟuvai and

[13] Codrington, "Medieval Mercenary Forces in Ceylon", pp. 385–392, 439–445, 528, See Nilakanta Sastri, "Vijabāhu I,…," pp. 67 71. Indrapala, "South Indian Mercantile Communities in Ceylon, circa 950–1250", pp. 101–113.

[14] For merchants in South India see Champakalakshmi, *Trade...* M Abraham, *Two Mediaeval Merchant Guilds in South India*.

their interactions with Buddhism. Possibly the inscription was erected to proclaim the establishment of a Buddhist institution.

The close interaction between the merchant guilds and Buddhist institutions is recorded in inscriptions from Anurādhapura, Polonnaruvai and Budumuttāva. The Tooth Relic Temple at Polonnaruvai was once placed under the custody of a military unit serving the *nakaram* of the Vaḷañceyar in the city. When the military unit assumed control over the temple, the institution was named after it. At Vikkirama Calāmēkapuram there was a Buddhist temple called Aññuṟṟuvan-paḷḷi, which was obviously named after a merchant community. At Taṉmacākarap-paṭṭiṉam the relationship was in the reverse order. Here, we have an instance of a town established by merchant communities being named after *taṉmacākarar*, which in the contemporary Īḷam context could be none other than an epithet of a puttar. Such a situation presupposes that the merchant communities of the locality enjoyed the support and patronage of the Pautta establishment.

The close connections which the Tamiḻ mercantile communities had with Pauttam in the city of Polonnaruvai is also attested in other ways. A badly damaged inscribed stone fragment from the premises of the Raṅkōṭṭuvikāram records some provisions made by the *aiññūṟṟuvar* for burning lamp(s) at a Buddhist shrine for the puttar *(puttarkku)*. The text as hypothetically reconstructed by Ālvapiḷḷai Vēluppiḷḷai contains the expressions *aṉṉūṟṟuvar...puttarkku. nontā viḷakku erippōm*. The epigraph was undoubtedly set up by the *aiññūṟṟuvar* to record an arrangement they had made to burn a perpetual lamp at a Buddhist shrine. That two inscriptions recording the interactions between the *aiññūṟṟuvar* and Buddhism have been found in the same locality may suggest that the inhabitants had an abiding interest in supporting Buddhist institutions. The *vaḷañceyar* and the *nakarattār* of Polonnaruvai were also associated in some manner with the Vēḷaikkāṟar, a mercenary group, when they undertook to protect and maintain the Tooth Relic Temple, its properties and people engaged in its service.

It would seem that the close connections that the Apaikiri had with the monastic centres in South India were established and sustained with the aid of seafaring merchants. Some monks from each side must have crossed the sea and visited monasteries to engage in study and the propagation of ideas.

### 6.1.2.2. Tamiḻ Mercenaries

Let us now look at the Tamiḻ mercenaries who cultivated Buddhism. Civacuppiramaṇiyam Patmanātaṉ shows in section 6.5. that a pauttappaḷḷi referred to in the inscription was called *vikkirama cālāmēkaṉ perumpaḷḷi* after the name of the Vēḷaikkkārar army known as *vikkirama cālāmēkaṉ nālpaṭai*, just as the Tooth Relic temple at Polonnaruvai was renamed *mūṉṟukait tiru vēḷaikkāraṉ daḷadāyp—perumpaḷḷi* after the name of a Vēḷaikkāṟar army at Polonnaruvai. The paḷḷi was placed under their custody. The *taṇṭanātaṉār*, "chief of the army", seems to have acted independently and on his own initiative according

to Civacuppiramaṇiyam Patmanātaṉ. Moreover, the arrangements recorded in the epigraph do not appear to have been made on a bilateral basis. There is no hint of a contractual arrangement between the institution of the *perumpaḷḷi* and the Vēḷaikkāṟar. The Vēḷaikkāṟar do not appear to have been employees and mercenaries of the institution. Their assumption of custodial authority over the Buddhist institution was apparently unilateral.

In a 12th century inscription, we find a Tamiḻ warrior who was at the same time a Buddhist lay disciple. The inscription has been re-read and interpreted by Civacuppiramaṇiyam Patmanātaṉ. He points out that it perhaps contains one of the earliest references to the presence of Tamiḻ warriors called *akampaṭi* on the island. The expression *buddastāna (buddhasthāna)* meaning "the site of a (the) puttar" is used in the inscription in a metaphorical sense to denote a Buddhist institution, a *vikāram* or paḷḷi.

A very important Tamiḻ inscription showing how Tamiḻ mercenaries integrated themselves into insular institution-building by supporting Buddhism has been re-read and interpreted by Civacuppiramaṇiyam Patmanātaṉ. The inscription shows how "the great army" of the Tamils was able to become custodians of the most holy shrine of Buddhism, the Temple of the Tooth Relic. Uttoruḷmūḷai affiliated to the Abhayagiri mahāvihāra was one of the largest and most influential monastic orders. Even as late as in the reign of Parakkamabāhu IV the Tooth Relic was in the custody of this order, as is attested by the *Daḷadā Sirita*, a text written in his reign.

A 12th century Tamiḻ inscription engraved on a stone pillar found at Puḷiyaṅkuḷam in the Utiyaṅkuḷam area of the Anurādhapura District records a land grant made by two individuals, one of whom had the title or epithet *nāṭāḻvān*. They granted land to puttar *mahadēvar* of the puttar *mahā[vikāram]*. The title or epithet of one of the donors, *nāṭāḻvān*, suggests that he belonged to a family of warriors exercising authority over a locality according to Civacuppiramaṇiyam Patmanātaṉ. He points out that the expression *nāṭāḻvān* occurs in the texts of only two inscriptions on the island. The expression *nāṭāḻvān*, which is formed by combining the words *nāṭu* and *āḻ*, means "the one who rules the *nāṭu*". It occurs in many South Indian Tamiḻ inscriptions. The reference to a *nāṭāḻvān* in a twelfth century inscription from a locality in the north-central part of the island is of some significance. It suggests that some Tamiḻ designations of rank were in vogue during this period.

The interaction between the army of the Vēḷaikkāṟar at Polonnaṟuvai and the mercantile communities is described in 5.20.8. The *vaḷañceyar*, a community of merchants, were *mūtātaikaḷ*, "patrons", of the Vēḷaikkāṟar, who were mercenaries. From 6.12. we also learn 1. that the Vēḷaikkāṟar became the custodians of the temple of the Tooth Relic by appointment; 2. that they undertook responsibility for its maintenance and protection; and 3. that they closely interacted with the *vaḷañceyar* and the *nakarattār*.

I wish to add one remarkable incident which happened during the rule of

Bhuvanekabāhu I (1273–1284, 1272–1284). His *senāpati* Mitta deposed him and the king had to flee. But Mitta failed to gain the support of the king's mercenaries. These consisted of two groups, the *sīhaḷa yodhā*, "*sīhaḷa* warriors", and the *ārya khattayodhā*, "Aryan kṣatriya warriors"[sic], who in spite of their name were Tamils.[15] *ārya* was not related to language, but to status and caste. Therefore a Pāṇṭiya noble, a *damiḷādhipati*, could soon after this incident call himself *ārya cakkaravartin*.[16] The source tells us that the two mercenary groups *samaggī bhūya*,[17] "having united", went to the king and brought him back. The pragmatic interests of these mercenaries in co-operation were evidently stronger than the preservation of separate ethnic-religious interests. I have found only this case.

### 6.1.2.3. Tamiḻ Merchants' and Mercenaries' Interpretations of Buddhism

The expressions *perumāḷ*, *āḷvār* and *vallavaraiyaṉ* that occur in the inscriptions require some explanation and elucidation, which Civacuppiramaṇiyam Patmanātaṉ gives in section 6.14.10. The word *perumāḷ* had many different connotations. As an epithet it was applied to persons of eminence. In the Hindu religious tradition it was applied to God and more specifically to Mahā Viṣṇu. Vaiṇava temples are often referred to as *perumāḷ kōyil* even today.

The twelve principal leaders of the movement of devotional theism in South Indian Vaiṇavam are generally referred to as *āḷvār*. According to an authoritative opinion, the original and correct form was *āḷvār* derived from the root *āḷ*, "to rule". It is argued convincingly that on account of the confusion between *ḷa* and *ḻa*, as suggested by numerous examples from epigraphy, *āḻvār* became established in course of time as the accepted literary form.

The principal connotations of the word *āḻvār* were God, gods, supreme devotees, religious teachers and persons of great eminence. The word *āḷvār* is derived from the root *āḷ* and formed by the addition of a termination indicating the third person honorific singular of the common gender. Its singular masculine and feminine forms are respectively *āḷvāṉ* and *āṇṭāḷ*. In our inscription the word *āḷvār* is applied as an epithet of the puttar to signify his pre-eminence as a religious teacher.

The description of the puttar as *mahādēvar* in the concluding portion of the epigraph is significant for providing an indication of the points of contact between Hinduism and Buddhism. Such a description is somewhat unusual in the Theravāda tradition as found in the island. An expression which is commonly used to describe a god in the Tamiḻ Caiva and Vaiṇava traditions is applied to a puttar. It has the effect of exalting the puttar to the status of a supreme divinity. In Buddhism the gods are accommodated and assigned a position subordinate to that of the puttar, but in this instance a puttar himself is

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[15] *Cv* 90: 17, 29

[16] *Cv* 90: 44. For the term cakkaravartin see Tambiah, "The Court of the Ariya Chakravartis", pp. 303–306.

[17] *Cv* 90: 29.

described clearly and without any ambiguity as the supreme divinity. This word provides clear evidence of the transfer of ideas associated with Caiva-Vaiṇava concepts to those of Buddhism.

Civacuppiramaṇiyam Patmanātaṉ also points out that it is significant that the grants were made to the shrine of the puttar attached to a perumpaḷḷi. The puttar is described as puttar tēvar in one of these inscriptions and the tone, tenor and contents of the records suggest that the conceptions the donors had of the puttar were somewhat alien to the doctrines of orthodox Theravāda ideology. It may be appropriate to recall here that Nātaṉār kōyil, the name by which the site of *velkam vēram* is referred to by the Tamils of the locality in modern times, is reminiscent of the Nātha *dēvālē* in Kandy. Such a description of the site may perhaps be considered as perpetuating, in vague terms, ideas about the character of the perumpaḷḷi. The beliefs, rituals and practices associated with the Rājārajapperumpaḷḷi would appear to have been influenced by Mahāyāna and Caivam-Vaiṇavam.

The description of the Tooth and Alms Bowl relics as *mūvulakukkum cikāmaṇi*, "the crest-jewel of the three worlds" and *svāmi tēvarkaḷ*, "honorable lord," may be of some significance. Such a description suggests that they were personified and deified. The words *svāmi* and *tēvar* were used as honorifics and applied to princes, religious dignitaries and deities. They were never used in connection with impersonal and inanimate objects. The use of such terms in descriptions of the relics presupposes that they were objects of reverence, veneration and worship and that they had become cult objects with which supernatural powers were associated.

The expression *buddastāna* (*buddhasthāna)* meaning, "the site of a (the) puttar", is used in the inscription in a metaphorical sense to denote a Buddhist institution, a *vikāram* or paḷḷi, the remains of which cannot be identified at present. His donation and the reference to the *buddhasthāna* in the dedicatory expressions included in the text may suggest that Umpiḷa Ayittaṉ was a lay devotee, an *upāsaka* of the puttar. It is also possible that his companions were of a similar persuasion.

The Caiva-Vaiṇava interpretation of Buddhism is made clear from a 12 century inscription re-read and interpreted by Civacuppiramaṇiyam Patmanātaṉ in section 6.7. The inscription records an endowment made to a paḷḷi at Polonnaṟuvai by a person for the purpose of supplying a specified quantity of clarified butter, presumably for burning lamps at the shrines of the *puttatēvar* and the *vērattāḷvār* at a paḷḷi. The references to a *puttatēvar* and a *vērattāḷvār* are significant because they provide an indication of the conceptions the Tamils had formed about some aspects of Buddhism. The words *tēvar* and *āḷvār* which are usually applied to designate God respectively in Caiva and Vaiṇava *kōvil* inscriptions are here applied as epithets of the puttar. This is not the first instance where a puttar is described as *tēvar*. The expressions *velka vērattu tēvarkku*, "to the *tēvar* of *velka vēram"*, are found in the text of one of the inscriptions from *irājarājapperum*paḷḷi, referred to as

*nātaṉār kōyil(-kōvil)* in modern times. Civacuppiramaṇiyam Patmanātaṉ notes that this seems to be the earliest extant record which uses the expression *āḷvār* in connection with a puttar. The inscription is of unusual significance because it applies both *tēvar* and *āḷvār* derived from two distinct religious systems, Caivam and Vaiṇavam, as epithets of a puttar. The reference to a *puttatēvar* and *vērattāḷvār* presupposes that there were two separate shrines or image houses attached to the paḷḷi concerned. It may be assumed that the epigraph refers to two different images of a puttar, depicted in different poses or attitudes.

Civacuppiramaṇiyam Patmanātaṉ presents a 12th century inscription. It records the donation of a strip of land in Morakakavelai in the North Central Province made by a person called Uḷakāyakittaṉ to a Buddhist institution. The grant was given *puttarkku*, "to the puttar". He made a grant of land to a temple attached to a monastery.

Civacuppiramaṇiyam Patmanātaṉ points out that the expression *mūṉṟu-kōyil*, found in the dedicatory portion of the text, is unusual in epigraphic usage. The direct meaning of the expression is "three temples", but in this instance the reference is the *triratna*—the buddha, dhamma and the saṃgha. Such an interpretation presupposes that Tamiḻ Buddhists on the island transferred terminology traditionally associated with Caiva and Vaiṇava institutions to Buddhist concepts while also coining new words and expressions. The word kōyil in Tamiḻ is usually applied in connection with Caiva or Vaiṇava temples and the palace.

An epigraph from Paṅḍuvasnuvara, re-read by Civacuppiramaṇiyam Patmanātaṉ, is unique as being the only record hitherto brought to light which applies the word kōyil to designate a Buddhist monastery. It refers to a shrine of *pōtimātavar*, evidently an image house (*paṭimāghara*) attached to the monastery at Śrīpura nakar, as kōyil. It is significant that in this instance an expression which is generally used to designate shrines of the Tamiḻ Caiva and Vaiṇava traditions is applied to designate a Buddhist monastery.

The description of the puttar as *mahādēvar* in the concluding portion of an epigraph is significant for providing an indication of the points of contact between Caivam-Vaiṇavam and Buddhism according to Civacuppiramaṇiyam Patmanātaṉ. Such a description is somewhat unusual in the Theravāda tradition as found on the island. An expression which is commonly used to describe a god in the Tamiḻ Caiva and Vaiṇava traditions is applied to a puttar in this text. It has the effect of exalting a puttar to the status of a supreme divinity. In Buddhism the gods are accommodated and assigned a position subordinate to that of the puttar, but in this instance the puttar himself is described clearly and without any ambiguity as the supreme divinity. This text provides clear evidence of the transfer of ideas associated with Caiva-Vaiṇava concepts to those of Pauttam according to Civacuppiramaṇiyam Patmanātaṉ.

In Caivam and Pauttam there are some rituals which initially seem similar to the observer, but which after examination appear different. There is the

Caiva ritual of *nayanamōkṣam*, "opening of the eyes", and *añcananiṟukkum*, "applying or fixing collyrium". This suggests that the text of the inscription refers to rites similar to those of a *nētra pinkama* of the present insular Buddhist tradition. But Civacuppiramaṇiyam Patmanātaṉ shows that there is a serious difficulty in identifying the rites referred to in the epigraph as events associated with a Sinhala *nētra pinkama*. So when the *nayanamōkṣam* was performed at the Temple of the Tooth, a Caiva ritual applied to the puttar was performed. I have also tried to show that when the ritual of the lighting of the lamp was performed by Tamils in a Buddhist context, it was still done according to Caiva traditions.

Civacuppiramaṇiyam Patmanātaṉ also demonstrates convincingly that the architectural prototypes of the Rājarājapperumpaḷḷi have not yet been identified. In its design and mode of construction the latter is a blend of Caiva-Vaiṇava and Buddhist traditions. The mouldings have been recognized as belonging to the Dravidian variety of buildings, but the moonstone found in the porch and the stone balustrades at the entrance are adaptations from the models of Buddhist temples found on the island.[18] There are no vestiges of superstructures. The design of the ground plan suggests an adaptation of the form of a Caiva-Vaiṇava kōyil to the requirements of Buddhist ritual and worship. The contemporary South Indian Buddhist paḷḷi perhaps followed the same model to a considerable extent.

So, if we compare the Buddhist terms used by Tamils in Īḻam with the Buddhist terms used in the Cōḻa period in Tamiḻakam, we find concordance. Both traditions were strongly influenced by a common source, by a Caiva/Vaiṇava tradition. I have called this kind of Buddhism, which applies Caiva/Vaiṇava concepts and sentiments to Buddhism, *cōḻappauttam* and its branch in Īḻam, *īḻaccōḻappauttam*. It was, however, not just a blue print of Caiva/Vaiṇava concepts and sentiments. There is no indication that the puttar was regarded as bewilderer as he was in the official Caiva state ideology, and the aggressive feelings towards Buddhism and Buddhists that we know from the Caiva and Caiṉa saints were of course suspended.

This *cōḻappauttam* was different from the Buddhism in the *vīracōḻiyam* and its commentary. In the latter, a clearly visible Mahāyāna buddhology was related consciously to Caiva concepts and sentiment as a way to indigenize Mahāyāna. In the former, the puttar was part of the Caiva or Vaiṇava pantheon and was selected as *iṣṭadevatā* for a group of people that shared a common locality. I shall come back to this important aspect in sections 6.16.1.–6.16.3.

Īḻaccōḻappauttam was a result of the intensive mercantile and martial interaction between the two territories. It had no chance of survival when the military and political conditions changed to benefit Pāli–Sinhala traditions.

[18] For a Dravidian influence on architecture see Dewaraja, "Some Aspects…", pp. 427–431.

# 6.2. Tamiḻ Inscription from the Apaikiri Site, Anurādhapura

*Civacuppiramaṇiyam Patmanātaṉ*

## 6.2.1. The Text

The fragment of a stone slab inscribed with Tamiḻ letters was found on the platform of the Apaikiri vikāram (Abhayagiri *vihāra*)). It was discovered by R S Bandaranāyaka, the publicity officer of the Apaikiriya Project of the Cultural Triangle. When a team of Japanese, Indian and Lankan scholars working on a project relating to medieval maritime commerce in the Indian Ocean visited the Apaikiri site on 6 August, 1998, they were informed about this particular stone slab.[19]

On the morning of 7 August, which was the day preceding a full moon, Ellevaṉ Subbarayalu, Paḻani Caṇmukaṉ, the author, two employees of the Archaeological Department and the publicity officer inspected the inscribed slab and prepared some estampages of it. The inscription is indited on the fragment of a stone slab of irregular shape found on the stone pavement of the vast platform on the western side of the *stūpa*. It was found at a location in the proximity of the embankment of the elevated area.The stone slab is approximately 2ft in length and 1ft and 6ft in width. A portion on the left side of the slab has been cut off to leave behind the appearance of an arc. It would appear that this was done for the purpose of joining it to the edge of a boulder at the corner of a structure or on a door frame, before the letters were engraved on it.

Text amended

*1 ceypāḷa [n k o ṇ ]*
*2 ṭapaikiri pōtiyi*
*3 l kaṟpaṭai cey*
*4 vicca taṟai kiḻak*
*5 ku meṟku pati*
*6 ṉṉā ṟaṭi teṟ*
*7 ku vaṭakku*
*8 patiṉṉāṟaṭi*
*9 yum kācum ōra*
*10 kkamum*

[19] The members of this team during the year 1998 were (1) Professor Noboru Karashima, Department of History, Taisho University; (2) Dr Kanazawa, Curator, Idemitzu Museum, Tokyo; (3) Professor Matzunami, Department of Sanskrit Studies, Taisho University, (4) Mr. Ota, Department of South Asian History, University of Tokyo; (5) Professor E Subbarayalu, Department of Epigraphy, Tamiḻ University, Tañcāvūr, (6) Professor Pa Caṇmukaṉ, Department of History, University of Madras, (7) Dr Siran Deraniyāgala, Director-General of Archaeology, Sri Lanka, (8) Dr Mālini Dias, Deputy Commissioner, Department of Archaeology, (9) Professor Ci Patmanātaṉ, Department of History, University of Peradeniya. The project leader was Professor Noboru Karashima. The project was funded by the Taisho University, Japan.

## 6.2.2. Translation and Interpretations

"The floor, which is sixteen feet from the East to the West and sixteen feet from the South to the North, on which the stone chamber has been constructed with dressed stone slabs, at the premises of the *pōti*, and one *kācu* and one *akkam*".

The initial portion of the text seems to have been lost after the stone was broken into pieces. In all there are ten lines of writing on the fragment. It does not appear that any of the letters on either side of each of the lines of writing have been lost. The letters are in a good state of preservation and all of them except a few on the first line could be deciphered. The expressions found in this fragmentary epigraph do not form a complete sentence

The inscription is of considerable significance as a historical document especially on account of three considerations. Firstly, it is the oldest among the Tamiḻ inscriptions discovered hitherto in Ilaṅkai. The letters on this slab represent a stage of palaeographical development which is considerably older than that reflected in other Tamiḻ inscriptions found in Anurādhapura. It can be assigned to the eighth century on palaeographical considerations. Secondly, it refers to a *pōti* (*bodhi*, "shrine") at the Apaikiri. Accordingly, this fragmentary inscription is of unusual importance as a historical document. Thirdly, the impression gained from other sources about the presence of Tamiḻ Buddhists in Anurādhapura is confirmed by the contents of this inscription.

In the first line of the inscription only the first four letters can be deciphered and they form the expression *cey-pāḷa(m)*. It is a compound expression formed by combining the Tamiḻ words *cey* and *pāḷa(m)*. Although the word *pāḷam* has many connotations, from the context in which it appears here it may be construed as the one which is used to denote dressed boulders or slabs of stone. The validity of such an explanation is confirmed by the fact that the word is applied in the text with reference to the *kaṟpaṭai*. "a stone chamber".

This inscription contains a brief description of the construction of a building at the sacred *pōti* (shrine) of the Apaikiri. The relevant portion of text runs:

*... apaikiri pōtiyil*
*kaṟpaṭai ceyvicca taṟai*
*kiḻakku meṟku patiṉṉāṟaṭi*
*teṟku vaṭakku patiṉṉāṟaṭi.*

"The floor of the stone chamber (shrine) which has been caused to be constructed at the [sacred] *pōti* of the Apaikiri is sixteen feet from the East to the West and sixteen feet from the South to the North."

There is here a reference to the construction of a square structure, the floor (or platform) of which occupied an area of 256 square feet.[20] The character of the structure is not described in the text, but its location as described in the inscription is of the utmost importance. It was a building at the sacred *pōti* of the Apaikiri as evident from the expression *apaikiri pōtiyil*.

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[20] *TL* 5, p. 2 638.

The first word *apaikiri* in the compound expression *apaikiri pōtiyil* is the Tamiḻ form of the name Apaikiri. The second word, *pōtiyil*, is formed by adding the locative case termination to the word *pōti*, which is the Tamiḻ form of the Pali/Sanskrit word *bodhi*. Whenever it is applied in respect of Buddhist concepts it denotes the bodhi tree under which the puttar attained enlightenment.[21] Thus, it is clear that there was a *pōti* on the premises of the Apaikiri when this inscription was made. Another consideration that arises from a scrutiny of this inscription is the existence of a shrine dedicated to the sacred *pōti*.[22] The expression *pōtiyil kaṟpaṭai* provides a clear indication of the fact that there was a shrine, a bodhighara, within the premises of the monastery concerned.

### 6.2.3. Vaṭṭagāmiṇī

The Apaikiri founded by Vaṭṭagāmiṇī (103–102, 89–77 BC) became the centre of a new sect of Buddhism. In the fifteenth year of his reign, a faction of monks of the Mahāvihāra broke away from it, and formed a new sect which came to be known as the Apaikiri [Abhayagiri] or Dhammarucinikāya. The *thera,* Mahātissa of Kuppigala, who was in charge of the Apaiyakiri, was accused of visiting the families of laymen and was expelled from the order. One of his disciples, who was also known as Mahātissa, protested against this decision; he was also punished in like manner by the monks of the Mahāvihāra. Thereupon Tissa, with a following of about five hundred monks, left the Mahāvihāra and took up residence in the Apaiyakiri. The disciple of a teacher named Dhammaruci arrived at this *vihāra* from a monastery called Pallavārāma in India, and the monks residing there accepted his teachings as the correct interpretation of the teachings of the puttar. The Apaikiri, which had seceded from the Mahāvihāra, enjoyed the support of King Vaṭṭagāmiṇī and it soon grew in numbers and influence.[23]

In comparison with the monastic orders affiliated to the Mahāvihāra the inmates of the Apaikiri were receptive to new influences. The monasteries

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[21] *taṟai* and *kaṟpaṭai* are two words the precise meaning of which have to be ascertained. A ground, a floor and the foundation of a building are the connotations of the word *taṟai*. A chamber, a shrine, and a platform, are some of the connotations of the word *paṭai*. The expression *kaṟpaṭai* is formed by combining the words kal, "stone", and *paṭai* and it could denote a structure made of stone. The explanation that *paṭai* could be applied to a shrine or chamber is confirmed by the meaning associated with the expression palḷippaṭai which is normally applied to sepulchral shrines. From the description found in the inscription it is clear that a stone structure had been constructed on a floor which had an area of 256 square feet, just before the inscription was engraved on stone. That it was a one similar to a *bodhighara* is clear from the expression *potiyil kaṟpatai*, "the stone-shrine at the (site of the sacred) *pōti*".

[22] The primary meanings of the word *pōti* are "knowledge" and "wisdom". The papal tree is referred to as *pōti* as it is considered to be the tree of wisdom under which the buddha had attained enlightenment. *pōtiyār*, *pōtimātavaṉ*, *pōtivēntaṉ*, *pōtippakavaṉ* and *pōtikkiṟaivan* are some of the epithets of the buddha. Vide *TL* 5, p. 2964.

[23] *The Nikāya Saṅgrahāwa…*, p. 12. Paranavitana, "Civilisation of the Early Period…", p. 245–246.

Fig 28. Photograph of the stone inscription from the Apaiyakiri vikāram.

affiliated to the Apaikiri had texts, some portions of which were different from those found in the Mahāvihāra. In their texts of the Vinayapiṭaka, for instance, the *khandaka* and *parivāra* sections had readings that differed from those of the Mahāvihāra.[24] The two sects competed with each other and occasionally their disputes arising from controversies regarding the interpretation of texts assumed serious proportions. They could not be settled amicably and the intervention of the King with decided partiality towards the Mahāvihāra led to bitterness. When a dispute arose between the two sects in the reign of Bhāṭika Tissa (38–66, 22–07), a ruling was given in favour of the Mahāvihāra by a learned *brāhmaṇa* called Dīgha Kārāyaṇa at the behest of the King.[25]

The monks of the Apaikiri are said to have accepted the tenets of Vaituliyavāda, a sect of the Mahāyāna which had adherents in some parts of South India. The Dhammarucikas are said to have advanced the claim that the Vait-

[24] Paranavitana, "Civilisation of the Early Period…", p. 246.
[25] Loc.cit.

ulyapiṭaka represented the fundamental tenets of Buddhism as propounded by the puttar.[26] The claim was naturally rejected by the Mahāvihāra, which sought royal intervention for upholding its position. Commenting on the action taken by Vohārika Tissa (269–291, 209–231) the *Mahāvaṃsa* says: "Suppressing the Vetulla doctrine and keeping heretics in check, he made the doctrine shine forth."[27] A minister named Kapila, who was appointed by the King to conduct an investigation into the dispute declared that the Vaitulyavāda was inconsistent with the teachings of the puttar.[28]

There was a dispute again in the reign of Goṭhābhaya (309–322, 249–262) on account of Vaitulya doctrines, and the King decided in favour of the Mahāvihāra: "Purifying the doctrine by suppression of heresy, he seized bhikkhus dwelling in the Abhayagiri (*vihāra*), sixty in number, who had turned to Vetulla doctrines and were like a thorn in the doctrine of the puttar, and when he had excommunicated them, he banished them to the further coast."[29] In addition, marks were branded on their bodies and the texts of the Vaituliyavāda were burnt.[30] The supremacy of the Mahāvihāra could not be sustained for long with such cruel methods and in the reign of Mahāsena (334–361, 278–301) the adherents of the heretical sects took full advantage of the favourable disposition of the King towards them. The Mahāvihāra was for a time disestablished and disendowed by a royal proclamation. The King, however, reviewed his policy later and permitted the restoration of the Mahāvihāra in response to public sentiment. Ever since the reign of Mahāsena the Apaikiri had established its claim to royal support and patronage.

In connexion with the embellishments made to the Apaikiri by Mahasena the *Mahāvaṃsa* says: "Holding fast to his evil friend, the thera Saṃghamitta, and to his servant, Soṇa, the king wrought many a deed of wrong. The King sent for the great stone image from the Pācinatissa-pabbata (*vihāra*) and placed it in the Abhaya (*vihāra*). He erected a building for the image, a temple for the bodhi tree, a beautiful relic hall and a four-sided hall, and he restored the (parivena) called Kukkuṭa. Then by the ruthless Saṃghamitta was the Abhayagiri made stately to see."[31]

### 6.2.4. The *pōti*

From the foregoing description it would appear that the temple for the *pōti* constructed by Mahāsena was somewhere in the premises of the Apaikiri. The fact that it is mentioned along with the construction of an image house, a relic hall and a four-sided hall in the Apaikiri may be accorded some significance in this respect. Possibly, the *pōti* and the hall of the puttar which were found at

[26] Mv 36:41.
[27] Mv, 36:110–112; Liyanagamage, "Conflicts…", p. 171.
[28] *The Nikāya Saṇgrahāwa…*, p. 12.
[29] Ibid., p. 14.
[30] Mv 37:13–16.
[31] Mv 37:13–16.

Apaikiri by Faxian during the early fifth century had come into existence during the reign of Mahāsena. In respect of the *pōti,* it may further be assumed that it had been planted long before the accession of Mahāsena.

An event of considerable significance in the history of Buddhism in Ilaṅkai and the growing influence of the Apaikiri was the introduction of the Tooth Relic in the reign of Sirimeghavanna (362–unknown, 301–328), the successor of Mahāsena. It was brought from Dantapura in Kāliṅga and deposited in a shrine located near the royal palace. It was reckoned as an object of deep veneration and an annual festival in its honour was conducted in the city. It was taken in a ceremonial procession and exhibited at a hall in the Apaikiri—as testified by the Chinese pilgrim Faxian.[32]

Returning to the *pōti* at the Apaikiri, it may be recalled here that a *pōti* was in existence in the precincts of this famous monastery when Faxian was in Anurādhapura. He said:

"A former King of the country had sent to Central India and obtained a slip of the *patra*-tree [bo-tree] which he had planted by the side of the hall of the puttar; where a tree grew up to the height of about 200 cubits. As it bent on one side towards the south-east, the King, fearing it would fall, propped it with a post eight or nine spans round. The tree began to grow at the very heart of the prop, where it met (the trunk); a shoot pierced through the post, and went down to the ground, where it entered and formed roots that rose (to the surface) and were about four spans round. Although the post was split in the middle, the outer portions kept hold (of the root), and people did not remove them. Beneath the tree there had been built a *vihāra*, in which there was an image of the puttar seated, where the monks and commonalty made reverence and looked up to the image without ever becoming wearied."[33]

There are three elements in this account which merit careful consideration. The first pertains to the origins of the *pōti*, the second to the state in which it was found by Faxian, and the third highlights the existence of shrines or sanctuaries beneath that sacred tree. Faxian was doubtless describing the *pōti* as he saw it. It had grown very large with overhanging branches. Of particular significance in his account is the notice of its location: it was in close proximity to the hall of the puttar where the Tooth Relic was exhibited during the annual festival held in its honour. It would appear that the Apaikiri had its own tradition about the *pōti* found within the premises of that great monastery and it is to the credit of Faxian that he recorded it.

The third element in the story pertains to a shrine at the site of the *pōti*. Faxian describes a shrine which was found beneath this tree and contained an image of the puttar which was deeply venerated by monks and the laity alike. This shrine was probably the adjunct of a bodhighara, a shrine dedicated to the sacred *pōti*. The existence of a *pōti* on the premises of the Apaikiri is confirmed by the present inscription. Besides, the expression *pōtiyil kaṟpaṭai,*

[32] *A Record...*, pp. 103–104.
[33] Ibid., p. 103–104.

which translates in a rigidly literal sense "the stone built shrine at the *pōti*", suggests that there was a shrine that had the likeness of a *bodhighara* when the inscription was indited.

The *bodhighara* had emerged during the early stages in the development of Buddhism as a shrine attached to temples and other monuments of veneration. "The galleried structure which surrounded the sacred tree at Bodhgaya and similar structures elsewhere are depicted in the early Buddhist reliefs from Bhārhut, Sañcī, Bodhgayā, Mathurā, Amarāvatī, etc.[34] In Ilaṅkai, archaeological remains of this type have been found at Nillakgama, Vijayārāma, Paṅkuliya, Pācinatissa-pabbata and Magulmahāvihāra.[35] The shrines seem to have been constructed after the eighth century. It may also be noted here that the structure associated with the famous Samadhi image in Sector IV of the Apaikiri Vihāra has been identified as a *bodhighara*.[36]

The fragmentary inscription seems to have been engraved for the purpose of recording an act of merit: the construction of the floor or platform of a building occupying an area of 256 square feet and a token gift of money consisting of one kācu and one *akkam*.[37] The gift was presumably made in accordance with a tradition pertaining to the *pōti*. The engraving of an inscription recording a gift in Tamiḻ presupposes that there was a group of people on the Apaikiri premises who could write and read in Tamiḻ and understand its contents. The presence of such a group of people in the locality during the early phase of the development of this monastery is attested by the *Mahāvaṃsa* and the "Tamiḻ Householders' Inscription" on a rock boulder at the Apaikiri site.

## 6.2.5. Tamiḻ Merchants

This inscription engraved in Brāhmī characters datable to the period between the first century BC and the second century AD refers to Tamiḻ Buddhist monks (*dameḍa samaṇe*) and Tamiḻ householders (*dameḍa gahapati kana*). There are references to stone seats, seven in all, which were lodged in a hall and donated to monks by the householders, all of whom had Prakrit names and were presumably lay devotees. Perhaps these householders belonged to a community of merchants engaged in maritime trade.[38]

[34] Bandaranayake, *Sinhalese Monastic Architecture*, p. 161.
[35] Ibid., p. 167.
[36] Ibid., p. 164.
[37] The *kācu* was the unit of currency equivalent to the *kalanda* the standard weight of which was 68 grains. Specimens of this coin were in circulation during the ninth and tenth centuries in South India where it was known as *īḻakkācu* "the kācu from *īḻam* ".The *akkam* (Sinhala *aka*) was a unit of the *kācu*. *akkam* pieces have been found in the course of excavations and in the possession of collectors of antiquities. It is also referred to in several inscriptions. The akkam was presumably a tenth of the *kācu*. *akkam* is the Tamiḻ form of the Sanskrit word *akṣa*, a synonym for *karṣa*. It is supposed to be equivalent to the *paṇam* which was the tenth of a *kaḻañcu*. Vide *Memoirs of the Colombo Museum*. Codrington, *Ceylon Coins and Currency…*, p. 5.
[38] *IC* 1, p. CXXIII.

There is the further possibility that they belonged to a community of merchants who interacted closely with the monastic centres and supplied them with some of the commodities required for the monastic establishments.

It would seem that the close connections that the Apaikiri had with the monastic centres in South India were established and sustained with the aid of seafaring merchants. Some monks crossed the sea from either side and visited monasteries to engage in study and the propagation of ideas. As seen earlier the monks who had propagated the Vaitulya doctrines among the residents of the Apaikiri were the disciples of Dhammaruci who was living at the Pallavārama monastery. Later, in the reign of Goṭhābhaya (309–322, 249–262) the monks of the Apaikiri who suffered persecution and banishment on account of their heretical views are said to have sought refuge in the Cōḻa country. Saṃghamitta who had converted king Mahāsena (334–361, 274–301) to the fold of Mahāyāna was a monk from the Cōḻa country.

There were also in Anurādhapura some Tamils in positions of authority and influence who had extended support and patronage to Buddhism. Commenting on the reign of Aggabodhi IV (658–674, 667–683), the *Mahāvaṃsa*, for instance, says:

"The Damiḷa by name Potthakuṭṭha, who was in his service, erected the wonderful house called Māṭambiya and assigned to it the Ambavāpi (tank) at Bukakella, the village of Taṇṭavāyikacāṭika, as well as the village Nitthilaveṭṭhi together with slaves. In the Kappūra-parivena, as well as in the Kurundapillaka (Vihāra) and (in the Vihāra of) Mahārājaghara, the same (Potthakuṭṭha) erected *pāsāda*. In addition he granted, wealthy as he was, three villages to the vihāras. The wise senāpati, Potthasāta by name, finished the *vihāra* called Jeta parivena that bore the King's name. The Damiḷa called Mahākanda built the parivena named after him."[39]

## 6.2.6. Conclusion

In conclusion it may stated that the fragmentary inscription from the Apaikiri site is of great significance in relation to the history of Buddhism in Anurādhapura. It suggests the existence of the *pōti* at the premises of the Apaikiri when it was indited and provides confirmation of the tradition about it as recorded by the Chinese pilgrim Faxian who visited Anurādhapura in the fifth century AD.

The engraving of a text recording in Tamiḻ the construction of a stone chamber on the premises of the *pōti* shrine suggests that there were Tamils in the community of Buddhists—both monks and laymen—attached to the Apaikiri vikāram. Perhaps the construction was supported by a Tamiḻ *upāsaka*, and if that was the case, there is confirmation here of the claims made by the *Mahāvaṃsa* in this respect. It is also possible that there was a Tamiḻ Buddhist

[39] *Mv* 46:19.

community attached to this *vikāram*. Such an impression seems to be confirmed by the consideration that the inscription was meant to be understood by at least some of those who visted the *pōti* shrine.

## 6.3. A Critical Study of the Mākkōtaippaḷḷi Inscription from Anurādhapura

### *Āḷvāppiḷḷai Vēluppiḷḷai*

### 6.3.1. Interpretations

Three Tamiḻ inscriptions were discovered almost a century ago in the ancient capital city of Anurādhapura.[40] As no one in Ilaṅkai could decipher Tamiḻ inscriptions at that time, the estampages were sent to Kiruṣṇa Cāttiri (Krishna Sastri), the Chief Epigraphist for India. The Tamiḻ texts of these inscriptions were published in the last few pages of the fourth volume of the *South Indian Inscriptions*.[41] A few years before this publication, Kiruṣṇa Cāttiri made some observations on these records in the *Madras Epigraphical Report*.[42]

Seventy-five years after their discovery, these three inscriptions were edited by Kārttikēcu Intirapālā (K Indrapala) in the *cintaṇai*, a Tamiḻ journal.[43] Kārttikēcu Intirapālā made use of the estampages of the first two inscriptions only to talk vaguely about dating from palaeographical considerations. He noticed the name *sri senavarma* in line 25 of the record. Later, Kārttikēcu Intirapālā also edited the first two inscriptions in English.[44]

Even though the ruins in the north of Anurādhapura were already identified as "Tamiḻ Ruins" or "Hindu Ruins" due to the distinctive character of some of them, Kiruṣṇa Cāttiri concluded that the first two inscriptions were Buddhist epigraphs, without giving any reason. The last inscription, which is very fragmentary from the point of view of decipherment, is indeed a Buddhist Tamiḻ epigraph. Kiruṣṇa Cāttiri, whose background in Ilaṅkai History was poor, identified Caṅkapōtivarumar, the ruler mentioned in the first two Tamiḻ inscriptions, with Agrabodhi III (626–641, 629–639).[45] He also made a loose statement that on palaeographical considerations the date of the seventh century was acceptable. According to him, the expression *kumāra kaṇattu pērūr*, "assemblage of Murukaṉ in the town", occurring in the first two inscriptions is a place name.[46]

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[40] Bell, *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon Annual Report for 1893*, pp. 5, 12.
[41] Krishna Sastri, "On a Slab Preserved in the Archaeological Survey Premises in the Same Village", No. 1403, p. 493. "On another Slab in the Premises", No. 1405, p 493.
[42] Krishna Sastri, *Madras Epigraphical Report for 1913*, p. 103.
[43] *cintaṇai, kalai camūkaviyal kālāṇṭuccañcikai* 1, pa 31–35 and *cintaṇai*... 2 (1969), pa 19–23.
[44] Indrapala, "Two Inscriptions…", pp. 1–5.
[45] Krishna Sastri, *Madras Epigraphical Report for 1913*, p. 103.
[46] Loc.cit.

Kārttikēcu Intirapālā who edited these three Tamiḻ inscriptions almost three decades ago published his papers in Tamiḻ.[47] Even though he also edited the first two inscriptions in English, he did not publish any photographic plates of the inscriptions. He has made some substantial contributions to the study of the Buddhist records. He was able to find the name *srī senavarma* in line 25 of the record.[48] Unfortunately there were five rulers with the name *sena* reigning in Anurādhapura, in the ninth and tenth centuries of the Christian era. According to Kārttikēcu Intirapālā, it is difficult to pinpoint any one of them as the ruler referred to in the record.[49]

## 6.3.2. Mākkōtaippaḷḷi

Mākkōtaippaḷḷi was the name of the Buddhist paḷḷi, established in Anurādhapura. Mākkōtai was a personal name of a Kēraḷa ruler as well as a place name denoting a former capital city of Kēraḷam. Intirapālā correctly identifies *nāṅku nāṭṭār*, "those from four countries", as a subsidiary of the well-known mercantile corporation of the Five Hundred of the Thousand Directions. He also points out the existence of a Tamiḻ verse in *veṇpā* metre within this record and mentions that Mākkōtai was praised in the record.[50]

Kārttikēcu Intirapālā has also made some contributions to the study of the first two inscriptions. These two records do not mention the name of the ruler. They just give the consecration title of *caṅkapōti* (Saṃghabodhi). Kārttikēcu Intirapālā was able to show that there were many other rulers with the title Siri Saṃghabodhi. In the ninth and the tenth centuries AD there were three. Of these, Mahinda IV (956–972) alone was referred to as a *mahārāja* in an inscription from Vessagiri.[51] The two Tamiḻ inscriptions refer to *mārāyar*. As the title of *mahārāja* was loosely applied to various Sinhala rulers from very ancient times, Kārttikēcu Intirapālā was not willing to conclude that the Siri Saṃghabodhi *mārāyar* was Mahinda IV. He also pointed out that the so-called Hindu Ruins have been dated independently to the ninth and the tenth centuries AD, thus dismissing Kiruṣṇa Cāttiri's dating. Intirapālā increased our knowledge further by pointing out that the technical term, *kumāra kaṇam*, "assemblage of Kumāra (Murukaṉ)", occuring in both records, referred to a committee administering Caiva temples, thus dismissing Kiruṣṇa Cāttiri's claims that they were Buddhist records.

These three inscriptions provide evidence that Anurādhapura had a Tamiḻ settlement in its northern division. Both the Tamiḻ Caivas and the Tamiḻ Buddhists lived close together. Anurādhapura was the capital city of Ilaṅkai until the end of the tenth century. This region had some Dravidian influence going

[47] *cintaṉai* 1, pa 31–35; *cintaṉai 2*, pa 19–23.
[48] Krishna Sastri, No 1395, *SII* 4, p. 491.
[49] intirapālā, "anurātapurattiluḷḷa nāṅkunāṭṭār kalveṭṭu", *cintaṉai*, malar 1, itaḻ 4 (1968), pa. 32.
[50] intirapālā, "anurātapurattiluḷḷa...", pa. 34.
[51] Vide *cintaṉai*, malar 2, itaḻ 1, where Intirapālā gives the footnote as *EZ* 1, p. 3, but the information is not there.

back to prehistoric times, as indicated by the discovery of megalithic sites closely associated with the Dravidian culture. Even according to the *Mahāvaṃsa*, Tamiḻ kings ruled from Anurādhapura for almost a third of the two and a half centuries preceeding the Christian era.[52] This would not have been possible if there had been no local Tamiḻ population base. It is not possible to trace the continuity of this base with the available historical material. South Indians might also have migrated for trade and other purposes. And it is important to note the existence of the Tamiḻ settlement in the north of the city, as indicating the direction of the arrival of the Tamils in that city.

A Tamiḻ verse in *veṇpā* metre was identified in lines 27 to 29 of the third inscription[53] by scholars some time ago. In addition there seems to be fragments of another verse in lines 20 to 23. Expressions like *ūḻitōṟu nilavi*, *teṇṭirai cūḻ* and *pōṟṟuvar kāṇmiṉō*, which occur in these lines indicate the use of poetic language. But it is not possible to reconstruct this verse because a number of letters at the beginning and the end of each line cannot be deciphered at the present stage. The verse cited by Intirapālā praises not Mākkōtai, as he surmised, but Tarumapālaṉ (Sanskrit, Dharmapāla), who came from Mākkōtai. It is worth investigating whether *nāṉku nāṭṭār* in this inscription is equivalent to *nāṉātēci* of later Tamiḻ inscriptions. The Tamiḻ word *nāṭṭār* can be translated as *tēci* (*desin* in Sanskrit). The Tamiḻ words *nālu* and *nāl*, generally meaning "four", can also mean "many". The Sanskrit word *nānā* means "many".

The importance of Mākkōtaippaḷḷi will become clear when viewed from the historical background of South India and Ilaṅkai. The revival of Vedic traditions, which commenced in the sixth century AD in Tamiḻakam, adversely affected Caiṉam and Buddhism. The claim of medieval "Hindu" texts that there was a complete conversion to Caivam, as usual in claims made in similar contexts in the history of religions, is not acceptable. There is definite evidence to show that Buddhists, at least in small numbers, continued to live in Tamiḻakam up to the fourteenth century AD. It can be surmised that a section of the Tamiḻ Buddhists migrated from Tamiḻakam to the Buddhist country of Ilaṅkai. The discovery of Sanskrit inscriptions at Tiriyāy and Kuccaveḷi, written in Pallava Grantha script,[54] should be taken to indicate that the Tamiḻ Buddhists from the Pallava Kingdom migrated to the Tirukkōṇamalai district. Campantar, the Caiva saint, is said to have defeated the Buddhists in the seventh century at Pōtimaṅkai in the Kāviri delta, which was then under Pallava rule. The ancient *velgam vihāra* might have been rebuilt as *irājarājapperumpaḷḷi* in Dravidian architectural style by about the beginning of the eleventh century, possibly to cater to that Tamiḻ Buddhist settlement.[55]

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[52] vēluppiḷḷai, *toṭakkakāla īḻattu ilakkiyaṅkaḷum avaṟriṉ varalāṟṟup piṉiṉaṇiym, toṭakkappērurai* 1986, pa 13

[53] vēluppiḷḷai, *toṭakkakāla īḻattu ilakkiyaṅkaḷum…, pa 6.* pōti niḻalamarnta puṇṇiyaṉpō levu vuyrkkun tīti laruḷcurakkuṅ cintaiyā—nāti varutaṉmaṅ kuṉṟāta mātavaṉmāk kōtai yorutarmma pāla ṉuḷaṉ.

[54] Paranavitana, "Kuccaveḷi Rock Inscription", pp. 151–160.

The Mākkōtaippaḷḷi in Anurādhapura seems to be a forerunner of the Irājarājapperumpaḷḷi in Tirukkōṇamalai District. It is now well known that Mākkōtai was the capital of Kēraḷam in medieval times and that a Mākkōtaippaḷḷi was a leading institution there.[56] This city was known as Vañci in the *cilappatikāram*, the *Maṇimēkalai*, and in the other classical Tamiḻ texts. But the *periyapurāṇam*, dated to the twelfth century, calls the Kēraḷam capital city Makōtaiyāpuram. The revival of Vedic traditions commenced in Kēraḷam at about the beginning of the ninth century. The "Hindu" revival in Kēraḷam commenced with Kulacēkara I (800–820 AD.), canonized as Kulacēkarāḻvār, a Vaiṇava poet-saint. The Vaiṇava movement in Kēraḷam gained momentum when Nammāḻvār, the leading Vaiṇava poet-saint from the Pāṇṭiya country, went on a pilgrimage to Kēraḷām during the latter half of the ninth century. Kulacēkara II (820–844 AD.), canonized as Cēramāṉ Perumāḷ Nāyaṉār, a Caiva poet-saint, inaugrated the Caiva revival movement there. Cuntaramūrtti, one of the four main leaders of the Caiva revival in Tamiḻakam, was a personal friend of this Kēraḷam ruler and they made some pilgrimages together. The Kēraḷam Buddhists might have commenced their trek to the Buddhist country of Ilaṅkai by the latter half of the ninth century.

### 6.3.3. Conclusion

It is now generally acknowledged that the Kēraḷam people form a substantial segment of the substratum of both the Sinhala and the Ilaṅkai Tamils. However, the Kēraḷam Buddhists who migrated to Anurādhapura probably preferred to retain their ethnic identity. The mercantile group that built the Buddhist temple claimed to be *nāṉku nāṭṭu* Tamils, "the Tamils of *nāṉku nāṭu*". The Kēraḷam Buddhists and the Tamiḻ Caivas and Vaiṇavar seem to have lived together in the same area within the city of Anurādhapura. That is why this inscription was discovered among the so-called Tamiḻ or "Hindu" ruins. As Mākkōtaippaḷḷi must have been constructed according to the Dravidian style of architecture, the ruins of this paḷḷi might have remained indistinguishable from the other ruins of the area.

The Buddhist temple of Mākkōtaippaḷḷi that could not survive in Kēraḷam was apparently shifted to Anurādhapura in Ilaṅkai. Dharmapāla, who was praised in the inscription, must have been responsible for formulating plans for a new Buddhist paḷḷi and for persuading the rich mercantile group of *nāṉku nāṭṭār* to execute his plans.

By the middle of the ninth century, the mercantile group of *maṇikkirāmam* was influential in Kollam. The Kōṭṭayam Plates of 849 AD gave many privileges to this group. There is no evidence to show that the *nāṉku nāṭṭār*, which originated in Karnāṭakam in the eighth century and spread its activities

[55] Indrapala, "Fourteen Cōḷa Inscriptions…", pp. 37–51. Veluppillai, "Two Short Inscriptions from Nātaṉār Kōvil", pp. 16–19. Id., "Some more Inscriptions from Nātaṉār Kōvil", pp. 1–6.
[56] turaiccāmi, *cēra maṉṉar varalāṟu* 1957, pa 32–328.

throughout South India, had any connections with the Maṇikkirāmam. It is worthy of note here that contemporary Kēraḷam inscriptions were written in the Tamiḻ language in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu. Distinctive Malayālam words and traits are very rarely found. Therefore, very little Malayālam influence can be expected from the Anurādhapura record. Words like *taṉmam* (*tarmam*/*tarumam*) and *kammi* (*karmi*/*karumi*) found in the inscription can be cited as evidence of nasalization, a characteristic feature of the Malayālam language. But this observation is inconclusive in that similar words also occur in Tamiḻ where no Malayalam connection can be postulated. The Mākkōtai inscription was written in Tamiḻ-Grantha script, like the other two Tamiḻ inscriptions from Anurādhapura. It may be an indication that the Tamiḻ-Grantha script was the prevailing script among the Tamils of Ilaṅkai, even before the Cōḻa rule.

## 6.4. The Mākkōtaippaḷḷi of Anurādhapura

### *Civacuppiramaṇiyam Patmanātaṉ*

#### 6.4.1. The *nāṅkunāṭṭār*

The slab inscription of the Tamiḻ mercantile community called *nāṅkunāṭṭār*, which was found among the so called Tamiḻ ruins at the northern sector of Anurādhapura records some information about a paḷḷi not known from other sources. The discovery of this interesting find was reported by H C P Bell in the Archaeological Commissioner's report for 1893.[57] It was deciphered by Kiruṣṇa Cāttiri on the basis of an estampage sent to him and the text as read by him was published in *South Indian Inscriptions* 4.[58] The text as deciphered by the South Indian epigraphist was reproduced in an article by Kārttikēcu Intirapālā in a journal which he edited in 1968.[59]

As the epigraph was found to be in a damaged state there are major gaps in the text. The letters on the first two lines are completely worn out without leaving any trace. Neither are the letters on the edges on either side of the slab recognizable. Because of its fragmentary character part of the information recorded in the text has been irretrievably lost.

The inscription consists of Tamiḻ and Sanskrit portions. The Sanskrit portion is engraved in Grantha characters while the Tamiḻ portions are recorded in a language and script characteristic of the late Pallava period—the 8th and 9th centuries. The Sanskrit words occurring in the Tamiḻ portions are also engraved in Grantha characters. The epigraph cannot be dated precisely on palaeographic considerations.

That the inscription was set up by a group of people called *nāṅkunāṭṭār* is

[57] Bell, *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon. Annual Report for 1893*, p. 4.
[58] Krishna Sastri H. "No. 1405…", p. 494.
[59] intirapālā, "anurātapurattiluḷḷa nāṅkunāṭṭār kalveṭṭu'", pp. 31–35.

clear from the expressions in line 18 which read...*ṭṭuvittōm nāṅku nāttōmum*..., "...we of the *nāṅkunāṭu* have endowed...".[60] The epigraph seems to record an endowment made by the *nāṅkunāṭṭār* to the Mākkōtaippaḷḷi and the arrangements made by them for the administration of the endowment. In addition, there are references in the text to a king called Śrī Sēnāvarmmā, the puttar and two individuals called Siṣṭanāgaṉār, and Dharmmapālaṉ who is said to be a *mātavaṉ*, "the great sage". The text of the record is also significant as it contains two verses composed in the *veṇpā* metre. Only one of them is clear, while the other one indited on lines 21–23 cannot be reconstructed on account of gaps in the text.

## 6.4.2. The Inscription

The Sanskrit portion which is not quite comprehensible on account of its mutilated character is engraved on lines 23–26. It contains a eulogy to a king called Sēnavarman, who is described as *rājarāja*, "king of kings". He was obviously a king of Anurādhapura where there were five rulers who had the name Sēna. Their reigns are enumerated here in chronological order.

1.Sēna I 831–851, 833–853
2.Sēna II 851–885, 853–887
3.Sēna III 937–945, 938–946
4.Sēna IV 953–956, 954–956
5.Sēna V 972–981, 972–982

Sēnavarman could be any one of them, although the tone of the description of the king as found in the epigraph seems to favour the identification of the ruler concerned as Sēna II. The eulogistic description of the king in a record set up by the Tamils of the *nāṅkunāṭu* presupposes that the people concerned and the king interacted closely. They probably served as the king's commercial agents and negotiated the supply of some of the commodities in which the royal court had an abiding interest.

This epigraph is the only record on the islnd which refers to the group called *nāṅkunāṭṭār*, "those of the *nāṅkunāṭu*". The expression *nālku nāṭu*, which is the Kaṉṉaṭam equivalent of the Tamiḻ form *nāṅkunāṭu,* is applied in inscriptions of Karnāṭakam as the designation of a trading community associated with the Ayyāvoḷē.[61] It would appear that the same name was adopted in a modified form to describe a community of Tamiḻ merchants. There are indications suggesting that the Tamils of the *nāṅkunāṭu* referred to in the inscription from Anurādhapura had connections with the Cēra country on the Malabar coast.

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[60] Krishna Sastri, "No. 1405", p. 494, line 18.
[61] intirapālā, "anurātapurattiluḷḷa...", pp. 31–35.

### 6.4.3. *mākkōtai*

The reference to the puttar in the concluding portion of the inscription clearly shows that Mākkōtaipaḷḷi[62] was a Buddhist establishment. The expression *mākkōtai* which forms the initial part of its name is reminiscent of Kēraḷa connections. A coastal town in Kēraḷam known variously as Makōtai, Mākkōtai and Makōtaiyarpaṭṭiṉam is described in epigraphy and literature. Cuntaramūrttināyanār, who lived in the 8th century, mentions a locality called Makōtai in one of his hymns. Cuntarar sang two hymns in praise of Civaṉ enshrined at Tiruvañcaikkaḷam in Makōtai. Makōtai is described by him as being tossed by the waves of the ocean.[63] It was situated on the sea coast, not far from Tiruvañcaikkaḷam near Koṭuṅṅaṉūr.[64] Makōtai was another name for Cranganore, which is a corruption of Koṭuṅṅaṉūr. Makōtai was a famous centre like Kāntaḷūrcālai on the Malabar coast and considerable significance was attached to its conquest by the Cōḻa armies as could be seen from the references in Cōḻa inscriptions.[65] On the basis of a reference in the *Periyapurāṇam*[66], Makōtai is identified as Koṭuṅṅalūr.

Some of the affluent traders of Makōtai acquired the status of merchant princes. Iravikoṟṟan, otherwise called Cēramāṉ Lōkapperuñceṭṭi of Makōtaiyarpaṭṭiṉam, is said to have had the title of *maṇikkirāmam* conferred on him by Vīra Rāghava, the king of Vēṇāṭu. He was invested with authority over the town and its inhabitants, and his privileges including a monopoly of the export and import trade in certain commodities.[67]

The name *mākkōtaip*paḷḷi suggests that it was named after the coastal town of Makōtai in the Cēra country, and such an impression presupposes that those who were responsible for its establishment and maintenance had close connections with Makōtai through the medium of commerce. It may be noted here that the Tamils of the *nāṅkunāṭu* who had set up the inscription were a mercantile community of South Indian extraction.

The Buddhist associations of these merchants can be explained in the light of the description of Vañci as found in the *maṇimēkalai* of Cāttaṉār. There

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[62] The name is spelled *mākkōtai-* and *makōtai-* depending on the source.

[63] *cuntaramūrtti cuvāmikaḷ aruḷicceyta tēvārat tiruppatikaṅkaḷ* 1964, pp. 34–43.

[64] Venkayya, "Kottayam Plates of Vīra-Raghava", pp. 290–297.

[65] Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōḻas* 1, p. 234.

[66] In *cuntarar tēvaram* the form *mākōtai* occurs at nine places. The same town is refrred to as mākkōtai in the *periyapurāṇam*. Vide cuntaramūrtti. *cuvāmikaḷ tēvāram mkā civarattīrī*, pp. 146–148 [=*tiru-añcaikkaḷap patikam*]. Cēkkiḷar describes Mākkōtai as follows: "The ancient city of Koṭuṅkōḷūr is occupied by cultivated people praised in songs by poets. A landmark in that city is the temple of Civaṉ at Tiruvañcaikkaḷam. The king of the lineage of the Cēra rules the ancient malai-nāṭu ["hill country"] which is the abode of the goddess of wealth (*mā*] from this city----This city is also known as Mākkōtai as it is the city of the Kings who had the title *kōtai*----Mākkotaiy [Cēramāṉ Perumāḷ] was born here through the grace of Civaṉ." Vide [*tiruttoṇṭar purāṇam*] *cēkkiḷār cuvāmikaḷ aruḷicceyta tiruttoṇṭar purāṇam* 1898, pa 258–259, ceyyul 1, 45. It is clear from the foregoing description that Koṭuṅkoḷūr, presently known as Koṭuṅṅalūr, was called Mākkōtai. As Cēkkiḷār refers to a king of Mākkōtai as *mākkōtaiyār* it may be assumed that *mākkōtai* was a designation of the Cēra Kings.

[67] Nilakanta Sastri, *A History*..., p. 218.

were in Vañci, as described by Cāttaṉār, adherents of different religious traditions engaged in the propagation of their points of view and disputation. There were also Buddhist establishments in the city which had attained prominence in the southernmost parts of India.[68] An imaginative reading of the *maṇimēkalai* suggests that the Buddhist institutions of Vañci had some connections with those of Ilaṅkai. Although there are reasons to believe that the Mākkōtaippaḷḷi was established by a community of merchants who had gone to the island from Makōtai, the inscription that refers to it does not record any information about its origins. Nor was the inscription set up to record its construction and establishment as claimed by Kārttikēcu Intirapālā. He says that the object of the epigraph was to record information about the construction of a Buddhist temple at Anurādhapura.[69] However, there is no reference to the construction of the paḷḷi in the epigraph. The paḷḷi had been formally established and occupied by the time the inscription was set up. Such an impression does not preclude the possibility that the paḷḷi was established by the *nānkunāṭṭār*, but the construction and establishment of the institution had taken place during a period prior to the events recorded in the epigraph.

Judging from the preserved portions of the slab inscription it is clear that it was set up to record an endowment made to it by the Tamils of the *nāṅkunāṭu* for the performance of some services. What these services were cannot be ascertained because of the fragmentary character of the decipherable portions of the text. That they made some arrangements for the performance of some activity for a period of three days is clear from the following expressions found in the text *mūṉṉu nāḷaikkuc ceyvatākavum amaittōm*...[70], "we arranged for its performance on (the) three days".

The passage recorded in lines 14–18 that provides the key to an understanding of the purpose for which the inscription was set up may be reconstructed in the following manner:

> *n[ānku nā]ṭṭārālumamaikkappaṭṭa nālvarum [mākkōtaip]* paḷḷiyil *kammiyaruṅ kūṭi niṉṉu iddharmam [ko] ṇṭu celuttuvatāka amaittuk ka[l]veṭṭuvittōm nānku nāṭṭōmum*.[71]
>
> "We of the *nāṅkunāṭu* caused this inscription to be engraved so that the four persons appointed by the *nānkunāṭṭār* would in conjunction with the employees of Makōtaippaḷḷi continue to perform this (dharma) duty."

It is clear from the foregoing passage that the corporate mercantile community, the *nānkunāṭṭār*, made an endowment to the Mākkōtaippaḷḷi and appointed a group of four individuals to administer the endowment. The persons so appointed had to carry out the task assigned to them with the cooperation

[68] [*maṇimēkalai*] cāttaṉār, *maṇimēkalai*, pp. 303–327.
[69] intirapālā, "anurātapurattiluḷḷa...", pa. 32.
[70] *SII* 4, p. 494, No 1405, 11.13–14.
[71] The letters and expressions enclosed within brackets are conjecturally restored by us. They are lost on the inscribed slab on account of damage. Our reconstruction of the text is done in such a manner as to provide the most plausible explanation of the text.

and support of the employees of the paḷḷi *(paḷḷiyil kammiyar)*. Apparently there were individuals employed to perform services in the paḷḷi. Thus, it would appear that the paḷḷi or *vihāram* was well established by the time the epigraph was set up.

The word *kammi* does not seem to have any Malayālam connection. It occurs in a document composed in *ceṉtamiḻ*. *kammiyar* found in this record refers to the employees of Buddhist monasteries and is synonymous with *tēvakaṉmi(kaḷ)* found in Caiva and Vaiṇava temple inscriptions. *kammiyar* is derived from the Prakrit form *kamma* meaning "act", "action", "work" or "duty".

## 6.4.4. Siṣṭanāganār and Dharmmapālaṉ

Finally it remains to consider Siṣṭanāganār and Dharmmapālaṉ. The first of these, the initial part of whose name is lost, is referred to at the beginning of the record. It may be assumed that he was one of the leading monks residing at the paḷḷi. It is not possible to say anything more about him as the portion of the text describing his acitivities is completely lost. The concluding portion of the text which is a eulogy to Dharmmapālaṉ runs

*pōti niḻal-amarnta puṇṇiyaṉ pōl-evvuyirkkunt*
*tītil aruḷ curakkum cintaiyān-*
*ātivaru tanmaṅ kuṉrāta mātavan*
*Mākkōtaioru dharmmapālaṉ-uḷan.*[72]

"There is at Mākkōtai one Dharmapālaṉ, a spotless ascetic, a firm adherent of the original and pristine *dharma*, whose flawless thoughts are full of compassion for all beings like unto the meritorious one who sat under the Bodhi (tree)".

Dharmmapālaṉ (Taṉmapālaṉ) was apparently a venerable monk and an incumbent of Mākkōtaippaḷḷi. It is significant that he is described as a *mātavan* and as one attached to Mākkōtai. It may be observed that the expression *mātavan* is consistently applied in respect of prominent Buddhist monks in the *maṇimēkalai*. Aṟavaṇavaṭikaḷ is referred to in several places as *mātavaṉ*. The plural form *mātavar* is applied to denote the community of monks in several places in the text.[73] Mākkōtai in this context may be construed as an abbreviated form of Mākkōtaippaḷḷi.

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[72] *SII* 4, p. 294, ll 27–29. This verse has been reconstructed by Kā Intirapālā. The expression *āti* which is given as the last word of the second line in the version of the text as provided by him should be shifted to the third line. As the first and second lines commence respectively with the words *pōti* and *tītil* the third line should begin with *āti* on account of poetic considerations. Vide *Cintaṉai* 1, p. 34.

[73] [*maṇimēkalai*] cāttaṉār, *maṇimēkalai*, pp. 25, 51, 58, 68, 165, 270.

# 6.5. Vikkirama Calāmēkaṉ Perumpaḷḷi. A Tamiḻ Pillar Inscription of the Vēḷaikkāṟar from Mayilaṅkuḷam

*Civacuppiramaṇiyam Patmanātaṉ*

## 6.5.1. The Inscription

In 1980 a Tamiḻ inscription was found at Mayilaṅkuḷam, in Tiriyāy about thirty-four miles to the north of Tirukōṇamalai town. On receiving information about this find Ce. Kuṇaciṅkam (S. Gunasingham) visited the site and prepared an estampage of the inscription, which he subsequently deciphered, edited and published.[74]

This inscription was found amidst the remains of an ancient building on the fringes of a jungle which was being cleared for settlement. It contains fifteen lines of writing on one side of a pillar 7ft 2 in. high and 1ft 6in. wide. The epigraph is indited in Tamiḻ characters of the 12th century interspersed with Grantha and was found to be in a fairly good state of preservation.

Text[75]

*śrī apaiya ca*
*lā mēkac ca*
*kkaravarttikaḷ*
*śrī jayabāhu tē*
*varkku yāṇṭu pa*
*tiṉ eṭṭāvaṭu tam*
*pāl jīvitamuṭaiya*
*kaṇavatit taṇṭanāta*
*nār ututtuṟai vik*
*kirama calāmēkar nāl*
*paṭaiyaiyum āśrī*
*ttu pērumiṭṭu vik*
*kirama calāmēkaṉ*
*perumpaḷḷi tiruvē*
*ḷaikkāṟar apaiyam*

Translation by the author

"(Hail). Prosperity. In the 18th year of his Majesty Apaiya Calamēka Cakkaravartti Śri Jayabāhu tēvar (the army leader) Kaṇavati, who held lands assigned to him on service tenure, summoned the Vēḷaikkāṟar of the *vikkirama calāmēkaṉ nāṟpaṭai* of Ututtuṟai and placed (this paḷḷi) under their custody after having named it (after them).

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[74] Gunasingham, "A Tamiḻ Slab Inscription from Mayilawewa (Mayilaṅkuḷam)".

[75] The reading of this text is based on an etampage prepared by Kunaciṅkam published in Gunsingham, "A Tamiḻ Slab Inscription…". The present author also had examined the estampage prepapared by Kuṇaciṅkam.

*vikkirama calāmēkaṉ perumpaḷḷi* shall be under the protection of the Vēḷaikkāṟar."

## 6.5.2. Interpretations

The inscription is dated in the 18th year of *apaiya calāmēkac cakkaravarttikaḷ jayabāhu tēvar* and records some information about a warrior chief called Kaṇavati, about a military unit of the Vēḷaikkāṟar called *vikkirama calāmēkaṉ nāṟpaṭai* and a Buddhist sanctuary known as *vikkirama cālāmekaṉ perum*paḷḷi. The value of this inscription as a historical source is highlighted by the fact that the vital information it contains is not recorded elsewhere.

This epigraph was set up to proclaim that the Buddhist paḷḷi at the site had been placed under the custody of an army unit of the Vēḷaikkāṟar and named after them. The events referred to in this record evidently occurred during the year 1127/8 AD, which corresponds to the 18th year of the reign of Jayabāhu tēvar (Jayabāhu I (1114–1116, 1110–1111)). When this inscription was set up Vikramabāhu I (1116–1137, 1111–1132) was ruling from Poloṉṉaṟuvai. It may, incidentally, be noted that the 18th regnal year of Jayabāhu corresponded to the 17th of Vikramabāhu. The *Cūḷavaṃsa* testifies that Vikramabāhu and his son Gajabāhu ruled for 21 years and 22 years respectively. As the period between the consecration of Jayabāhu (1110) and that of Parākramabāhu I (1153) amounted to a total of 43 years, it may be assumed that Jayabāhu lost authority over Poloṉṉaṟuvai one year after his accession when his nephew Vikramabāhu seized power in Poloṉṉaṟuvai.

Although Vikramabāhu was ruling from Poloṉṉaṟuvai when this inscription was set up, there are no indications to suggest that he was in any way associated with the transactions recorded in the epigraph. He is not referred to by name and there are obvious difficulties in associating the epithet *vikkirama cālāmēkaṉ* with Vikramabāhu. This epithet formed part of the name of an army of the Vēḷaikkāṟar established at Kantaḷāy around 1097 AD in the reign of Vijayabhāhu I (1059–1114, 1055–1110), which was about 14 years before Vikramabāhu secured power in Poloṉṉaṟuvai.[76] Recently it has been shown elsewhere that *vikkirama cālāmēkaṉ* was a royal epithet which belonged to Vijayabāhu I and not his son.[77] It would therefore appear that the inscription under consideration has no connection whatsoever with the religious outlook and activities of Vikramabāhu I.

The Buddhist paḷḷi referred to in the inscription was obviously named *vikkirama cālāmēkaṉ perumpaḷḷi* after the Vēḷaikkkārar army known as *vikkirama cālāmēkaṉ nālpaṭai*, just as the Tooth Relic Temple at Poloṉṉaṟuvai was renamed *mūṉṟukait tiru vēḷaikkāṟaṉ daḷadāyp -perumpaḷḷi* after a Vēḷaikkāṟar army at Poloṉṉaṟuvai. Besides, the paḷḷi was placed under their custody. There is no indication that these arrangements were made at the be-

[76] Paranavitana, "*A* Tamiḷ *Slab-Inscription from Palamōṭṭai*", pp. 191–196.
[77] Pathmanathan, "Vikramabāhu and Vikrama Salamevan", pp. 93–11.

hest of the ruler or anyone else acting on his behalf. Kaṇavati, with the attribute *taṇṭanātaṉār*, "chief of the army", in this instance, seems to have acted independently and on his own initiative. Moreover, the arrangements recorded in the epigraph do not appear to have been made on a bilateral basis. There is no hint of a contractual arrangement between the institution of the *perumpaḷḷi* and the Vēḷaikkāṟar. The Vēḷaikkāṟar do not appear to have been employees and mercenaries of the institution.

Their assumption of custodial authority over the Buddhist institution was apparently unilateral and this can be explained in two ways. Either the Vēḷaikkāṟar at Utuṭuṟai, or some of them, were Buddhists and in that capacity extended support and patronage to the temple concerned, or else their leader Kaṇavati was obliged by custom to assume a custodial relationship over the institution in his capacity as one exercising some power and authority over the area in which it was situated. It may be noted here that there are numerous instances where leaders of military units were placed in charge of the administration of territorial divisions within the kingdom. Kaṇavati *taṇṭanātaṉār* was presumably one such leader.

The debris amidst which the inscribed pillar were found are in all probability the remains of *vikkirama calāmēkaṉ perum*paḷḷi, and it may be assumed that this pillar was one of those which supported the superstructure of one of its component parts. If archaeological excavations are undertaken in the future, they may shed some light on the origins and development of this temple.

The inscription suggests that the Vēḷaikkāṟar under whose custody the temple was placed were established at Ututturai on a permanent basis. This locality cannot be identified at present. The final part of its name, *-tuṟai*, suggests that it was located on the embankment of a stream or on the sea coast. As the Vēḷaikkāṟar of that locality had undertaken the responsibility of protecting the temple at Mayilaṅkuḷam, Ututturai must have been somewhere in the neighbourhood of Tiriyāy.

The inscription from Mayilaṅkuḷam is one of the three inscriptions from the north-eastern part of the island recording the activities of the Vēḷaikkāṟar, the others being those from Paḷamōṭṭai and Padaviya.

The Sanskrit Inscription from Padaviya which is engraved in Grantha characters of the 13th century records the construction of a lofty *vihāram* by Lokanātha Daṇḍanāyaka. It is said to have been named after the Vēḷaikkāṟar and placed under their custody.[78] The Paḷamōṭṭai inscription of the 42nd year (1097 AD) of Vijayabāhu I's reign (1059–1114, 1055–1110) records that the donations in the form of money, ornaments and gold made by a *brāḥmaṇa* widow to the kōyil of Teṉkailācam at the *brahmadeya* of Kantaḷāy were placed in the custody of a military unit called *vikkirama calāmēkat terinta valaṅkai vēḷaikkāṟar*,[79] "Selected Vēḷaikkāṟar of Vikkirama Calāmēkaṉ". The fact that the two units of the Vēḷaikkāṟar army which had the expression *vik-*

[78] Pathmanathan, "A Note on the Sanskrit Inscription from Padaviya", pp. 25–31.
[79] Paranavitana, "*A* Tamiḻ *Slab-Inscription from Palamōṭṭai*", pp. 191–196.

*kirama calāmēkaṉ* as the initial component of their name were from localities in the Tirukkōṇamalai district may be of some significance. Yet it cannot be assumed that the Vēḷaikkāṟar established at Kantaḷāy and Ututtuṟai belonged to the same unit. Their names were different despite the fact that the expression *vikkirama calāmēkaṉ* was the initial component of the two respective names. It would appear that the Vēḷaikkāṟar army at Ututtuṟai had acquired its name long before the inscription was set up, probably during the reign of Vijayabāhu in the 11th century. As suggested by the final part of its name, *nāṟpaṭai*, "four forces", *vikkirama calāmēkaṉ nāṟpaṭai*, in all probability, consisted of four subdivisions.

The *vikkirama calāmēkaṉ nāṟpaṭai* at Ututuṟai evidently served under the direction of the general Kaṇavati who is said to have held lands assigned to him on service tenure (*tampāl jīvitamuṭaiya*). The tone and contents of the inscription suggest that he wielded considerable power and authority. The army at Ututtuṟai was summoned by him to the site of the *perum*paḷḷi, and in their presence the institution was named after them as *vikkirama calāmēkaṉ perumpaḷḷi* and placed under their custody by Kaṇavati.

The traditions of corporate military organization found among the Vēḷaikkāṟar at Poloṉṉaṟuvai were in abeyance at Ututuṟai. There is no reference to any leader of the Vēḷaikkāṟar army in the slab inscription at Poloṉṉaṟuvai. The decisions pertaining to the tasks they had undertaken were made at a meeting of the corporate group at Poloṉṉaṟuvai; whereas at Ututtuṟai authority seems to have slipped away from the group and was vested in its leader who made decisions on behalf of the group and enforced them through his own authority. Perhaps, the conditions and terms under which the Vēḷaikkāṟar warriors were engaged in the two localities were different.

The expressions *apaiya calāmēka*, *cakkaravarttikaḷ* and *tēvar* require some elucidation and explanation. The first of these is the Tamiḻ form of the Pāli expression *abhaya silāmegha*, "the mountain cloud of refuge" one of the alternative consecration names of the rulers of Lanka. Its equivalent in Sinhalese was *aba salameven*.

The Tamiḻ word *cakkaravarttikaḷ* is formed by the addition of the honorific suffix *kaḷ* to *cakkaravartti* which is a Tamiḻised form of *cakravartti* meaning "mover of the wheel", "emperor" in a quite literal sense. In practical terms, it was applied as a royal title and in the sense of a king from the 11th century on the island. The expression *cakravartti* became established as the commonest of royal titles in the 11th century, superseding the titles *mahāparumaka* and *mahāraja* which had been in vogue during the period prior to the Cōḻa conquest. Vijayabāhu I (1059–1114, 1055–1110), Jayabāhu I (1114–1116, 1110–1111), Parākramabāhu I (1153–1186), Niśśaṅkamalla (1187–1196), Sāhasamalla (1200–1202) and Lokeśvara (1210–1211) are styled *cakravartti* in inscriptions.[80]

[80] Patmanathan, "Kingship in Sri Lanka *AD. 1070–1270* …", pp. 120–145.

*tēvar*, the Tamiḻised form of *deva*, is usually appended as a suffix to the names of kings and princes in inscriptions set up on the island since the eleventh century. The earliest instances of such a practice are to be found in the Cōḻa inscriptions at Polonnaṟuvai and elsewhere on the island. It was used as an honorific and appended as a suffix to the names of all local princes from the time of Vijayabāhu in imitation of the traditions of the Cōḻa court.[81] It is used as a formal expression to signify the majesty and dignity of the ruler and was not associated with any ideas about the divinity of kingship.

The inscription is dated in the 18th year of *apaiya calāmēkac cakkaravarttikaḷ jayabāhu tēvar* and records information about a warrior chief called Kaṇavati, about a military unit of the Vēḷaikkāṟar called *vikkirama calāmēkaṉ nāṟpaṭai* and a Buddhist sanctuary known as *vikkirama cālāmekaṉ perum*paḷḷi. The value of this inscription as a historical source is highlighted by the fact that the vital information it contains is not recorded elsewhere.

The epigraph was set up to proclaim that the Buddhist paḷḷi at the site had been placed under the custody of an army unit of the Vēḷaikkāṟar and named after them. The events referred to in this record evidently occurred during the year 1127/8 AD, which corresponds to the 18th year of the reign of Jayabāhu tēvar (Jayabāhu I (1114–1116, 1110–1111)).

## 6.6. An Inscription of the *aiññūṟṟuvar*. The Bōḷāppaḷḷi of Polonnaṟuvai

### *Civacuppiramaṇiyam Patmanātaṉ*

### 6.6.1. The Inscription

A Tamiḻ inscription engraved in characters of the 11th century with an admixture of Grantha was found in the remains of a Caiva temple between the North Gate of the medieval city of Polonnaṟuvai and the Raṅkōṭṭu vikāram. The text of the epigraph is indited in two lines on a stone slab. The text could be deciphered easily as the letters on the stone are in a remarkably good state of preservation. It contains a very brief description of a religious institution called Bōḷāppaḷḷi in the locality of Bagicinaka[y]

Text[82]

1. *svasti śrī. bagicinakayil bōḷāp*paḷḷi *śrī patineṇ pū*
2. *mit tēci ticai viḷaṅkum ticai āyiravar aiññūṟṟuvar pati paḷḷi*

[81] Patmanathan, "The Tamiḻ Inscription from Mankanai", p. 81.

[82] The reading of this text is based on the photographic copy of the estampage illustrated in *CTI* 2, plate opposite p. 12. The letters on the photographic copy are quite clear and can be deciphered without difficulty. Regrettably this inscribed stone seems to have been lost during the course of the work carried out under the auspices of the Cultural Triangle in recent years. When we visited Polonnaṟuvai during August 1997, we were informed by the employees of the Archaelogical Department that the inscribed stone could not be traced.

Translation
"Hail prosperity! This Bōḷāpaḷḷi of Bagicinakay is the paḷḷi of the town of the *aiññūṟṟuvar* of the thousand directions, the *nāṉātēci* of the eighteen countries, who are renowned in all directions".

## 6.6.2. Interpretations

The text of this inscription was deciphered, translated and published with comments by ĀḷvāppiḷḷaiVēluppiḷḷai.[83] The text as he deciphered it needs to be revised slightly in respect of two expressions. The first expression in the text has been deciphered by him as *bahicintayil*.[84] But the first, second and fifth letters of this word as found on the stone are very different from those he identified. They can be clearly identified as *ba*, *gi* and *ka* respectively. So the correct reading of this expression is *bagicinakayil*. This is formed by adding the locative case termination *-il* to *bagicinakay* which was obviously a locality on the outskirts of Poloṉṉaṟuvai, or Pulatthipura as it was referred to in those days.[85] It was probably part of the commercial sector of the city, a poetic description of which is found in the *Cūḷa*vaṃsa. The *Cūḷavaṃsa* refers to markets in the city where all kinds of wares were to be found.[86]

The name of the institution has been recognized as *bhōḷāp*paḷḷi by ĀḷvāppiḷḷaiVēluppiḷḷai, but the first letter of this name as engraved in Grantha on the stone is b*ō* and not *bhō* and therefore the correct form of the name is *bōḷāp*paḷḷi.

The inscription concerned does not record any donation nor does it contain any dedicatory expression. Although the purpose for which it was set up is not explicitly stated, by implication it was intended as a commemorative monument proclaiming the establishment of a paḷḷi and therein lies its unusual significance. This paḷḷi is said to have been at Bagicinakay in the *pati* of the *ticaiyāyirattu aiññūṟṟuvar*.

This record is significant also as providing some indication of the mercantile community called *aiññūṟṟuvar*, otherwise known as *nāṉātēci*, at Poloṉṉaṟuvai and their interactions with Buddhism. The *nāṉātēci* and their associates are referred to in more than twenty medieval inscriptions of which four are from Poloṉṉaṟuvai. The inscription found in 1921 in the village of Anaulunda, north of Poloṉṉaṟuvai, is engraved in three lines, on a slab, in Sinhala characters of the 12th century. The first two lines contain the initial portion of the inscriptional preamble of the *nāṉātēci* as found in their records in both India and Ilaṅkai. The letters on the third line are so worn that it is not

[83] Vēluppiḷḷai, "Some More Records of Ticaiyāyirattu Aiññūṟṟuvar", pp. 5–7.
[84] Ibid., p. 12.
[85] As for instance in the Slab Inscription of the *vēḷaikkārar* from Poloṉṉaṟuvai. The text of this inscription commences with a *śloka* in Sanskrit. The tanslation runs: "The temple of the Tooth-Relic was established at Pulastipura(m) by the Senāpati Deva on the orders of Sri Vijayabāhu, the King of Lanka. Vide section 6.10.1. in this volume.
[86] *Cv* 73:149: *sabbantarāpaṇōpeta sabbopakaraṇānvitam.*

possible to decipher them. The purpose of the record is not clear either. A possible theory is that it was set up, as in the case of the epigraph under consideration, to proclaim the establishment of a religious institution.[87]

The present inscription refers to their settlement as *ticaiyāyirattu aiññūṟṟuvar pati,* which translates as "the *pati* of the *aiññūṟṟuvar* of the thousand directions".

The word *pati* as found in Tamiḻ usage has many connotations. It could mean an inhabited locality, a town, a city or a sacred centre dominated by a shrine.[88] In medieval epigraphy it designated a settlement which was qualitatively different from the rural landscape. In other words, it designated an urban centre, a town or city. When it occurs in a text recording the activities of a mercantile community, as in the present case, *pati* may be recognized as a synonym for *nakaram*, a town or market area dominated by a community of merchants. This *pati* of the *aiññūṟṟuvar* can therefore be considered as a locality in the commercial sector of the city of Poloṉṉaṟuvai. That there was a *nakaram* of the *aiññūṟṟuvar* or their associates at Poloṉṉaṟuvai is suggested by the expression *nakarattār* found in the slab inscription of the Vēḷaikkāṟar. The expression *nakarattār* is formed by the addition of the third person plural termination *-ār* to *nakaram* which designates the corporate association that governs the market town called *nakaram*. It is significant that the *nakarattār* were invited by the Vēḷaikkāṟar to attend the meeting of their "great army" organised to discuss matters relating to the Tooth Relic Temple. The mercantile community called *vaḷañceyar,* sometimes also referred to as *nāṉātēci, and* usually associated with the *aiññūṟṟuvar*, were also invited to this meeting.

The word paḷḷi is generally applied in ancient and medieval texts to designate Buddhist and Caiṇa institutions—monasteries, shrines and schools or colleges attached to them. It also has several other meanings.[89] As there are no indications to suggest the presence of the followers of Caiṉam in Ilaṅkai during the period under consideration, the paḷḷi described in the epigraph may be recognized as a Buddhist institution, a monastery or a shrine, or a composite structure which included both of these. The tone and contents of the inscriptions suggest that this paḷḷi was set up by the *aiññūṟṟuvar* at one of their settlements in Poloṉṉaṟuvai and was maintained by them.

The close connections which the Tamiḻ mercantile communities had with Buddhism in the city of Poloṉṉaṟuvai is also attested by two other inscriptions. A badly damaged, inscribed stone fragment from the premises of the Raṅkōṭṭuvikāram records provisions made by the *aiññūṟṟuvar* for burning lamp(s) at a Buddhist shrine for the puttar *(puttarkku)*. The text as hypothetically reconstructed by Ālvapiḷḷai Vēluppiḷḷai contains the expressions *aṉṉūṟṟuvar...puttarkku. nontā viḷakku erippōm*. The epigraph was undoubt-

[87] Paranavitana "Polonnaruwa: Anaulundava Slab Inscription", *EZ* 2, p. 235–237.
[88] *TL* 4, p. 2472.
[89] Vide *TL* 4, p. 2552.

edly set up by the *aiñnūṟṟuvar* to record an arrangement they had made to burn a perpetual lamp at a Buddhist shrine.[90]

The fact that two inscriptions recording the interactions between the *aiñnūṟṟuvar* and Buddhism have been found at the same locality may suggest that they had an abiding interest in supporting Buddhist institutions. The *vaḷañceyar* and the *nakarattār* of Polonnaṟuvai seem to have been associated in some manner with the Vēḷaikkāṟar when they undertook to protect and maintain the Tooth Relic Temple, its properties and people engaged in its service.

The name of the paḷḷi, *bōḷāppaḷḷi*, sounds peculiar and is somewhat reminiscent of Kaṉṉaṭam influences. The *nāṉātēci* are sometimes described as *ayyāvoḷēya ainūṟuvaru svāmikaḷu* in Kaṉṉaṭam inscriptions to signify their origins in the town of Ayyavoḷē, or Āryapuram, in Karnāṭakam. The *nakaram* established by the *aiñnūṟṟuvar* at Padaviya was called *ayyampoḻil paṭṭiṉam*. As the *aiñnūṟṟuvar* were a composite group consisting of many ethnic divisions, it is possible that there were Canarese among the merchants and artisans affiliated to them at Polonnaṟuvai.

The establishment of a paḷḷi in a locality occupied by the *aiñnūṟṟuvar* suggests that there were Buddhists among them. The inscription also probably served as an instrument for advertising the community's prominent role in local and seaborne trade.

## 6.7. The Tamiḻ Pillar Inscription of the 15th Year of Gajabāhu from Polonnaṟuvai. The Shrine of a *puttatēvar* and *vērattāḷvār*

*Civacuppiramaṇiyam Patmanātaṉ*

### 6.7.1 The Inscription

A Tamiḻ inscription engraved on the four sides of a stone pillar was found amidst the remains of buildings in the northern sector of the city of Polonnaṟuvai during the course of excavations conducted by the Archaeological Department in 1908. It was found in a very damaged condition. Although there are twenty-two lines of writing on each face of the pillar, the first four lines on each side were completely obliterated. Moreover, the letters on the first seven lines could not be recognised at all on face A, and the first six lines on face B had suffered a similar fate.

An estampage of this epigraph was deciphered by the Indian epigraphist Kiruṣṇa Cāttiri (Krishna Sastri). The text he translated and deciphered was published by the Archaeological Commissioner H C P Bell in the *Archaeolog-*

[90] Vēluppiḷḷai, "Four Fragmentary Tamiḻ Inscriptions from Polonnaruwa", pp. 216–217.

*ical Survey of Ceylon Annual Report for 1909*.[91] At present there are no estampages of this inscription in the Archaeological Department and until, and unless, a fresh estampage is made available any improvement or revision of Kiruṣṇa Cāttiri's text is impossible.

Subsequent to the preparation of this article an estampage was prepared in August 1998. It was found that Kiruṣṇa Cāttiri had wrongly deciphered the expression *vērattāḷvār* as *vairattāḷvār*.

A Provisional Translation from Tamiḻ

"In the month of *cittirai* [April–May] during the 15th year since Gajabāhutēvar assumed authority over the government of the kingdom, which was the 38th year [since the consecration] of Jayabāhutēvar, Ātittamakātēvaṉ [deposited...]. On the income from this amount of 102 *kācu* shall be supplied [clarified butter] at the rate of one *uri* per month for each *kācu* [...at the shrines] of the *buttatēvar* and *vērattāḷvār* of the paḷḷi of Pulainari otherwise called Vijayarājapuram.[92] If any one among those who have received this deposit misuses it he shall suffer the sin of transgressing royal orders".[93]

## 6.7.2. Interpretations

The inscription records an endowment made to a paḷḷi at Poloṉṉaṟuvai by a person called Ātittamakātēvaṉ in the month of *cittirai* (April–May) during the 15th year of Gajabāhu II's reign (1137–1153, 1132–1153). The endowment of 102 *kācu* was made for the purpose of supplying a specified quantity of clarified butter presumably for burning lamps at the shrines of the *puttatēvar* and the *vērattāḷvār* at a paḷḷi.

The paḷḷi is decribed as being situated at Pulainari, otherwise called Vijayarājapuram in the inscription. This particular institution cannot be identified as the words describing its name are lost. The reference to a *puttatēvar* and a *vērattāḷvār* are significant for providing an indication of the conceptions the Tamils had formed about some aspects of Buddhism. The words *tēvar* and *āḷvār* which are usually applied to designate God respectivaly in Caiva and Vaiṇava *kōvil* inscriptions are here applied as epithets of the puttar. This is not the first instance where a puttar is described as *tēvar*.[94] The expressions *velka vērattu tēvarkku*, "to the *tēvar* of *velka vēram*" are found in the text of one of the inscriptions from *irājarājapperum*paḷḷi referred to as *nātaṉārkōyil* (*-kōvil*)

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[91] Bell, *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon Annual Report* for 1909, p. 27.

[92] *uri* was a unit of liquid and grain measurement as found in medieval Tamiḻ society. The occurrence of this word in the inscription is significant as providing an indication of the fact that the system of measurement in which *uri* was a unit was in vogue in some parts of the island during the 12th century.

[93] Bell, *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon Annual Report* for 1909, p. 26.

[94] The expression *tēvar* found in this context should not be confused with the same word suffixed to the names of kings as an honorific during this period. It is applied also in that sense in respect of Jayabāhu and Gajabāhu in the same record.

in modern times. The epigraph under consideration seems to be the earliest of the extant records which uses the expression *āḷvār* in connection with a puttar. This inscription is of unusual significance as it applies both *tēvar* and *āḷvār* derived from two distinct religious systems, Caivam and Vaiṇavam, as epithets of a puttar. It would appear that Buddhist concepts are reformulated here on the basis of Hindu customs. That this was a general tendency and not an isolated phenomenon seems to be suggested by the occurrence of the expressions *tēvar* and *āḷvār* in inscriptions set up in different periods and at different localities, namely, Periyakulam, Polonnaruvai and Māṅkaṇāy.

The reference to a *puttatēvar* and *vērattāḷvār* presupposes that there were two separate shrines or image houses attached to the paḷḷi concerned. It may be assumed that the epigraph refers to two different images of a puttar, depicted in different poses or attitudes. As to what these poses were can now be only a matter of speculation.

The endowment of 102 *kācu,* which was a considerable sum of money, by the donor, Ātittamakātēvaṉ, suggests that he was a person of means. Although his social status is not described in the epigraph it may be assumed that he was a dignitary or agent of the king, Gaḷabāhu, as the dedicatory portion of the text mentions the royal order. That portion of the text translates:

"If any one among those who have received this deposit misuses it he shall suffer the sin of transgressing royal orders".

The use of such expressions in a private donation is very unusual. It seems to suggest that either Atittamakātēvaṉ was a dignitary serving under Gajabāhu and made the donation in a private capacity or that he made the donation on behalf of the king. Further clarification is not possible because of the multilated character of the text as found on the inscribed pillar. The engraving of the record in Tamiḻ presupposes that either Ātittamakātēvaṉ was a Tamiḻ or that the paḷḷi was occupied by Tamiḻ monks.

The purpose for which the endowment was made and with whom the money was deposited are not clear as the relevant portions of the text are lost. As it is stated that one *uri*, a liquid measure, should be supplied monthly for each *kācu* of the income from the money deposited, it may be assumed that the endowment was made for the purpose of supplying clarified butter for burning lamps at the shrines of a *puttatēvar* and a *vērattāḷvār*. In this respect the endowment is reminiscent of those made to the *irājarājapperum*paḷḷi during the 11th century. It may be recalled here that some of the inscriptions found amidst the ruins of that institution record endowments made in the form of money, cows and buffaloes for burning perpetual lamps as in a contemporary Caiva or Vaiṇava *kōvil*.

The reference to Pulainari and Vijayarājapuram in this epigraph is of some significance. Both forms of the name occur also in the slab inscription of the *vēḷaikkārar* from Polonnaruvai.[95] It would appear that *pulainari* is the

[95] Intirapālā, "Fourteen Cōḷa Inscriptions …", pp. 37–56.

Tamiḻiszd form of the name by which the city of Polonnaṟuvai was known in those days. Under Vijayabāhu I (1055–1110) it was called Vijayarājapuram. The description of the city as *pulainariyāṉā vijayarājapuram*, "Vijayarājapuram otherwise called Pulainari" is reminiscent of the tradition of simultaneously mentioning the alternate names of places, as found in Tamiḻ epigraphy of the Cōḻa period. A Cōḻa inscription from the same locality describes the city as *pulainariyāna jananātamaṅkalam*, "Pulainari otherwise called Jananāta maṅkalam".[96]

The inscription under consideration is also significant for being the only record which refers to the regnal years of both Jayabāhu I (1114–1116, 1110–1111) and Gajabāhu II. As it specifically states that the 15th year of Gajabāhu's reign corresponds to the 38th regnal year of Jayabāhu,[97] it is clear that Gajabāhu II secured authority over Polonnaṟuvai in the 23rd year after the accession of Jayabāhu, which occurred around 1110 AD. Since Vikramabāhu II (1116–1137, 1111–1132) had reigned for 22 years, as testified by the *Cūlavaṃsa*[98], before Gajabāhu II secured power, he would have assumed control of Rājaraṭa in 1116 or 1111 AD. A period of one year can therefore be assigned to the interval between the accession of Jayabāhu I as king and his dislodgement from Polonnaṟuvai by his nephew Vikramabāhu II. Thus, this epigraph is of vital importance in determining the chronology of the dynastic history of the Polonnaṟuvai period.

## 6.8. The Tamiḻ Pillar Inscription from Hiṅgurakgoḍa

### *Civacuppiramaṇiyam Patmanātaṉ*

### 6.8.1. Inscription

The Tamiḻ Pillar Inscription discovered at Hiṅgurakgoḍa by the employees of the Archaeological Department around 1891 has gone through three editions during the last 25 years.[99] It is indited in Tamiḻ characters of the 12th century, as usual, with an admixture of Grantha. The text is engraved in 22 short lines

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[96] *SII*, Vol. 4, p. 492.

[97] Although Jayabāhu lost authority within a year after his consecration the inscriptions which were set up in the interlude between his consecration in AD. 1110 and the accession of Parākramabāhu I around AD. 1153 were dated in the reganl year of Jayabāhu. As none of the rulers who exercised authority during this period were consecrated the epigraphs set up during the periods of their rule were all dated in the regnal years of Jayabāhu. It is also curious to note that this practice was continued even after Jayabāhu had died. The Māṅkanāy epigraph, for instance, was dated "in his" 43rd year. Such a practice was pecular to th early 12th century

[98] Bell, *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon Annual Report* for 1909, p. 26.

[99] Indrapala, "An Agampadi Inscription from Hingurakdamana", pp. 14–17. Vēluppiḷḷai, "A Pillar Inscription from Hingurakgoda", pp. 32–34. Id., "A Tamiḻ Pillar Inscription from Hiṅguragkoḍa, pp. 70–72. Pathmanathan, "A Tamiḻ Inscription from Hingurakdamana", pp. 56–61.

on one side of a pillar and the letters are in a remarkably good state of preservation.

Translation from Tamiḻ[100]

1–16. "**(Hail) Prosperity**. In the 40th year, Umpiḷa Ayittaṉ attached to the group of *akampaṭis* (in the service) of **Gajavāhu**tēvar, sold an *amaṇam* (of land) from the Pilappēṟu assigned to me on service tenure (jīvitam) at (the locality of) Māṉṉālāy and gave (the proceeds) to the **buddastāna** at Pātōṇi mācār.

16–22. Those who cause any obstruction to this donation will be committing an offence against the **buddastāna** and they will enter hell".[101]

The inscription exhibits all the orthographic peculiarities of the 12th century Tamiḻ inscriptions on the island. Some of the expressions recorded in the text are colloquial forms which do not conform to grammatical rules. *viccu (viṟṟu)* and *vikkanam (vikkiṉam)* which are found in the text belong to this category. There is sometimes confusion between *na* and *ṉa* and between *ḻa* and *ḷa* as can be seen from the following examples: *ayittanēn*, *iṭṭēn*, *vikkanam*, *piḷaiccār*. In addition, there is an orthographic error in in the word *buddastāna* which occurs in two places in the text: the dental unaspirated sonant instead of being followed by its cognate aspirate is repeated. It may be assumed that this error was due to an inadequate knowledge of Sanskrit phonology on the part of the artisan who engraved the inscription or the one who drafted the text of the record.

## 6.8.2. Interpretations

The epigraph which is dated in the 40th year (of the reign of Jayabāhu I (1114–1116, 1110–1111)) records the donation made by an individual called Umpiḷa Ayittaṉ to a religious institution and the text concludes with two imprecatory expressions. Ayittaṉ is described as one belonging to a group called *akampaṭiccakaiyār* of Gajabāhutēvar (Gajabāhu II (1137–1153, 1132–1153). He is said to have held lands in the locality of Mānnālāy assigned to him on service tenure. He sold a portion of land from his holding and donated the proceeds to a Buddhist institution.

As the donor is referred to in the first person as Umpiḷa Ayittaṉ, it is clear that the inscription was set up by him. It was engraved in about 1150 AD since the 40th year of Jayabāhu more or less coincides with that date. This was around the 18th year of Gajabāhu's reign.

The expression *akampaṭiccakaiyar*, which is not encountered elsewhere, is formed by combining the words *akam*, *paṭi* and *cakaiyar*.[102] The word *cakaiyar* may have been derived from either of the Sankrit terms *sakya* or *sakhā*

[100] Letters in bold are written in Grantha. [Editor's comment].

[101] Cf. The translation, text edition and annotations by A Vēluppiḷḷai and his text edition in *EZ* 6,1 pp. 71–72. [Editor's note].

meaning "friend" or "companion".[103] *akampaṭiccakaiyar* can therefore be explained as a companion that belongs to a group of *akampaṭi*.

The word *akampaṭi* is reminiscent of *akampaṭiyār*, the name of a social group in Tamiḻ society in South India and Ilaṅkai. The explanation given by modern lexicographers that the word *akampaṭiyār* is formed by the combination of the terms *akampu* and *aṭiyār* is not a convincing one and in fact appears to be wrong.[104] Such an explanation presupposes that *akampaṭiyār* denotes servants of the inner apartments. The Tamiḻ word for "inner" is *akam* and not *akampu*. *akam* and *aṭiyar* combined would result in *akamaṭiyār* and not *akampaṭiyār*. The words *akamuṭaiyāṉ* and *akampaṭiyār* found in modern Tamiḻ are two separate lexical items and the confusion between the two terms in modern scholarship is the result of a misunderstanding.

The word *akampaṭi* could have been derived from a combination of the Sanskrit term *ahan* meaning "day" and the Tamiḻ word *paṭi* meaning "wage".[105] It was probably originally designated a group of people who were given daily wages for the services they rendered. The conditions of service could have been changed in course of time according to circumstances. Tamiḻ epigraphy provides numerous examples of word formation effected through the process of combining Sanskrit and Tamiḻ terms.[106]

That the goup *akampaṭi* was prominent in the military establishments on the island from the 12th century is suggested by literary and epigraphic references. The *Nikāyasaṅgrahaya*, a Sinhala text of the fourteenth century, states that the land forces participating in the foreign campaigns of Parākramabāhu consisted chiefly of *akampaṭi* soldiers.[107] It has been suggested that the expression *abbhantara* combined with *maṇḍalika* and applied in that form as a designation of officers with large numbers of troops under their charge in the reign of Parakramabāhu I (1153–1186) is a rendering of *akampaṭi* into Pali. The claim made in the *Nikāyasaṅgrahaya* that there were *agampaḍi* soldiers serving under Parakramabāhu is confirmed by an inscription from the time of Niśśaṃkamalla (1187–1196) which refers to *agampaḍi* soldiers.[108]

The rulers of Dädigama (Dambaḍeniya), Gaṁpola and Koṭṭē are also known to have employed *akampaḍi* soldiers in considerable numbers. The fact

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[102] This expression has been reconstructed as *akampaṭic c(ivi)kaiyar* by Ka Intirapālā. Such a reading is not supported by the letters on the stone. Nor is there any indication about the existence of a group of people called *akampaṭic civikaiyar* in Tamiḻ society during any period of time. See Indrapala, "An Agampadi Inscription from Hingurakdamana", p. 17.

[103] *TL* 3, p. 1218

[104] *TL 1* 1, p. 1218.

[105] Monier- Wiilams, *A Sanskrit English Dictionary*, p. 124.

[106] vēluppiḷḷai, *cācanamum tamiḻum*, pp. 301–302.

[107] Ariyapala, *Society in Medieval Ceylon*, pp. 162–163.

[108] The *maṇḍalikas* in charge of the *aghampadi* are referred to in an epigraph from Polonnaruvai. The reference suggests that chieftains placed in charge of territorial divisions had *aghampaḍi* troops under their service. Vide S Paranavitana, "Civilisation of the Polonnaru Period", University of Ceylon History of Ceylon 1, pt 2, p. 539; Codrington, "The Council Chamber Inscription at Polonnaruwa", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Ceylon Branch* (1922–1924), pp. 304–306.

that the *Mayūrasandeśaya*, a Sinhalese poetical work written in the mid-14th century during the reign of Parakramabāhu V (1348–1360, 1344–1359), invokes blessings not only on the king and royal family, but also on the military force called *agampaḍi* provides an indication of the importance attached the *akampaṭi* troops.[109] Moreover, the *akampaṭi* soldiers continued to be an importanat section of the army until the end of the Koṭṭē period. It would appear from epigraphic references that they were on occasions engaged in functions relating to administration. The Maṭavaḷai (Maḍavala) inscription granting heritable rights over land to some individuals is said to have been engraved in the presence of ten *agampaḍi*s of Tumpaṟai (Dumbara). Two classes of *agampaḍi*s, *netti* and *mukala,* are referred to in the *Dambaḍeṇi-asna*.[110]

The inscription under consideration perhaps contains one of the earliest references to the presence of Tamiḻ warriors called *akampaṭi* on the island. According to this record Gajabāhu II (1137–1153, 1132–1153) had one such group in his service, and Umpiḷa Ayittaṉ the donor of the grant recorded in it belonged to this group. He is said to have held the land called Pilappēṟu at Māṉṉālāy assigned to him on service tenure. It was probably located somewhere close to the site where the inscription was set up.

The expression *buddastāna* (*buddhasthāna)* meaning "the site of a (the) puttar" is used in the inscription in a metaphorical sense to denote a Buddhist institution, a *vikāram* or paḷḷi, the remains of which cannot be identified at present. His donation and the reference to the *buddhasthāna* in the dedicatory expressions included in the text may suggest that Umpiḷa Ayittaṉ was a lay devotee, an *upāsaka* of the puttar. It is also possible that his companions were of a similar persuasion.

It is also interesting to find that Ayittaṉ had sold a portion, amounting to one *amaṇam*, of the land assigned to him on service tenure. It presupposes that the assignees of this category of lands sometimes asserted a proprietary right over such holdings which could be transferred to others. Yet, there are also indications, as will be seen later, suggesting that the lands assigned to individuals as *jīvitam* could be withdrawn on the initiative of the ruler.

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[109] Paranavitana, "Civilisation of the Period: Economic, Political and Social Conditions", pp. 735–736.

[110] Paranavitana, "Civilisation of the Polonnaru Period…", pp. 235–240.

# 6.9. Interaction between Merchant Guilds and Buddhist Institutions. The Taṉmacākarap-paṭṭiṉam in Ilaṅkai

*Civacuppiramaṇiyam Patmanātaṉ*

## 6.9.1. Introduction

The existence of a mercantile town called Taṉmacākara-p-paṭṭiṉam in the vicinity of Kalēvaḷai (Galeveḷa) in Tampuḷḷai (Dambulla) during the Poloṉṉaṟuvai period is known exclusively from an inscription found at Vikārakiṉṉai (Vihārehinna). The text of this inscription was deciphered on the basis of an estampage prepared by the Archaeological Department and published by ĀḷvāppiḷḷaiVēluppiḷḷai in 1971.[111] However, this text was based on a reading of an estampage which had not been carefully prepared.

In August 1997 a team of Lankan, Indian and Japanese scholars led by Noboru Karashima prepared fresh estampages of the inscription, and this effort has facilitated a successful decipherment of almost the entire text, which consists of 37 lines.[112] The inscribed slab, which is of unusual length, is found within the premises of a medieval monastic establishment, the remains of which are found scattered over a large area. The principal building had as its main components the sanctum, housing a colossal image of the puttar, and a hall, the roof of which was supported by stone columns of considerable height. The superstructure collapsed long ago on account of centuries of neglect, and at present there are no traces of its remains. The temple was constructed within a rectangular courtyard surrounded by brick walls. The scattered remains of a brick building and its ground plan suggest the existence of a monastery about 75 yards from the site of the temple.

The fact that the inscription was set up within the premises of the temple is significant in that it suggests the possibility of a close interaction between the Buddhist institution and those who were responsible for setting up the inscription. The physical dimensions of the temple and the existence of a medium-sized tank in close proximity to it suggest that the area in which they were located was the centre of a flourishing agricultural settlement. The penetration of itinerant merchant communities had the effect of transforming a local centre of commodity exchanges into a major marketing centre linked to the arteries of internal and external trade.

The inscription from Vikārakiṉṉai is indited in an admixture of Tamiḻ and

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[111] *CTI* 1, pp. 46–57

[112] The team consisted of Japanese, Indian and Sri Lankan specialists on History, Archaeology and Epigraphy: Professor Noboru Karashima (Taisho University), Professor Sato (Taisho University) Dr. Yasushi Ogura (Tokai University), Professor E. Subbarayalu (University of Tañjāvūr), Professor P Caṉmukaṉ (University of Madras), Dr. Siran Deraniyāgala (Commissioner General, Department of Archaeology, Ilaṅkai), Dr. Mālini Dias, (Director, Department of Archaeology), and Professor Ci Patmanātaṉ (University of Peradeniya).

Grantha characters of the 12th century. On the top and the bottom portions of the inscribed slab are found representations of objects which had a symbolic value. At the extremity on either side of the top portion are found representations of metallic lamps of the traditional type (*kuttuviḷakku*). By the side of each of these objects there is the figure of a conch. An unfolded umbrella is depicted at the centre, and it is flanked on the left by the figure of a crescent. In the Indian cultural tradition these symbols are associated with prosperity, authority, royal power and benevolence. They probably formed part of the insignia of authority of the mercantile towns administered by some of the merchant guilds.[113]

At the bottom of the slab there are representations of three objects, namely, a sword, a drum (*maṭṭu*) and a weapon which resembles a scimitar. Figures which resemble these objects are also found engraved on the slab inscription of the Vīrakkoṭi, from Budumuttāva. The representation of weapons on the inscriptions of the mercantile communities is generally indicative of their association with military groups. In fact most of the inscriptions of the merchant guilds found in Ilaṅkai are said to have been set up by groups of warriors. The Vīrakkoṭi, a group of warriors associated with the Nānātēci merchants, are said to have established the inscriptions pertaining to the mercantile towns of Nānātēciyavīrapaṭṭiṉam (Vāhalkaḍa) and Vikkiramacalāmēkapuram (Māgala).[114] In this particular instance, the military community that set up the inscription was the Eṟivīrar. It may be assumed on the basis of the engravings on the inscribed slab that the Eṟivīrar had the sword as their principal weapon. *eṟivīrar* means "the heroes of the sword".

The inscription from Vikārakiṉṉai is of unusual significance as a source of historical information. It refers to a market town called Taṉmacākarappaṭṭiṉam, which is otherwise unknown. The preamble of the inscription provides a clear indication of the close association between two merchant guilds, the Aññuṟṟvar and the Vīravaḷañceyar, in the establishment of the town concerned. It is perhaps the only inscription from any locality which specifically refers to the establishment of a *vīrattāṉam*, "the locality of the heroes". Another interesting detail found in the text pertains to a conflict between a local chieftain and the merchants.

Professors Subbarayalu and Caṇmukaṉ prepared the estampage of the inscription and Professor Subbarayalu deciphered the text. Professor Velupillai made a pioneering effort to decipher the inscription in 1971, but as the letters engraved on the stone are small and crowded they cannot be easily identified. Professor Subbarayalu had the advantage of wide experience and a clear un-

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[113] It may be noted here that the *pacumpai*, "the money-bag", which is peculiar to the merchant communities as a symbol is not depicted on this slab. The symbols depicted on this slab seem to have had some association with notions of authority rather than with the mercantile profession. The figures of the umbrella, conch and traditional lamp are usually found on royal seals.

[114] Vide Pathmanathan, "The Tamiḻ Slab Inscription of the Virakkoṭi at Budumuttava…", pp. 24–25.

derstanding of concepts and terminology usually found in the inscriptions of merchant guilds, and his reconstruction of the text is both complete and intelligible. [115]

## 6.9.2. The Text

1. ***svasti srī*** *samasta bhuvanāśraya pañcasata vīrasāsana lakṣ*
2. *mī-laṅkṛta vakṣhasthala śrī vāsudeva kaṉḍhali mūlabhadrot*
3. *bhava śrī aṣṭādasa-paṭṭana dvātriṃsat vēḷāpura ca*
4. *tuṣaṣṭi kaṭikaisthāna disaiyāśraya divyāsārasamaya*
5. *dharmma sampūrṇṇa sakalapura nivāsaniyākiya śrī*
6. *aiyapoḻirpura paramēśvarikku makkaḷākiya veyyacuṭar nēṭu*
7. *vēl vīravaḷañceyar patineṭṭu paṭṭi ṉamum muppattiraṉṭu vēḷā puramu*
8. *m aṟupattu-nāṅku kaṭikaitāvaḷamum tāvaḷattuc ceṭṭi*
9. *yuñ ceṭṭi putiranuṅ kavaṟai kātripanuṅ kāmuṇṭasvā*
10. *miym oṭṭanum [ulpacumpaikkāṟaṉu aṅkakāṟaṉu]*
11. *m āvaṉakkāraṉum [eṟi] vīranum pāvāṭai āriyat[tō*
12. *ṭa]run tamiḻ valla ca... lanum paḻutilāt toḻil va*
13. *lla kaḻutai mēva... vanumuḷḷiṭṭu aṟam vaḷarak kali*
14. *meliyap pukaḻ [perukat] ticaiyaṉaittuñ ceviṭu paṭāmaṟ ceṅkolē*
15. *munnāka samaya dharmam initu naṭāttukiṉṟa patineṇpūmi nāṅku*
16. *ticai nānātēcit ticai viḷaṅku ticaiyāyirat-taññūṟṟuvar kaṇṭiyamu*
17. *[ttar] uḷḷiṭṭa patineṇpūmi [vi] vīrarōm mācēnakāmamāna taṉmacākarap* paṭṭana
18. *[ttup] perumakkaḷ [eṅkalai] nōkkic ceyta ciṟappāvatu nam uṭappiṟanta*
19. *mu... valan muttanā na nānātēciyāṇṭāṉai vēnāṭuṭaiyār piṭittuc ci*
20. *ṟai ceytu oṇpātukait taḷai yiḻuppin pōtu āṭaṅkācu kuṭuttu vīṭu koṇ*
21. *ṭamaiyālum veḷḷittāli ceyvittup patineṇpūmi eṟivīraṉ tāname*
22. *ṉṟu nāmañcāttik kulattin pēriṭṭup peruñ ciṟappuc ceytamaiyil nāṅ*
23. *kaḷum nam perumakkaḷukkuc ciṟappuc ceyya vēṇṭumeṉṟu [ni. lattuki]*
24. *viṭum viḷakkeṉṉaiyum paṉamuṇṇu nāṭṭuc ceṭṭikaḷum nam uṭap*
25. *piṟantārum ippaṭṭinattil paṇamuṉṉāti-tākavum vīruñ cīrumaṭṭuttāvum [pa]ṟṟai*
26. *kaṭṭi ēṟātitākavum ivarukku pakaṟcōṟu peruvatākavum pāvaṭai mēṉatai*
27. *nālu kācu peṟuvatākavum ippaṭic ceyya vīramuṟaimai aḻiyac ceytā*
28. *1 paṇiyum ceṭiyum oṭukki muṭṭum puṟakum aṭikkapperāvatākavum ip*
29. *paṭi ceyyum[i]ṭattu uttirattilaḻintu paṭuvānākil avaṉ piṇam nāyeḻavu*
30. *māvatākavum ipparicu camaintu kallum palakaiyum nāṭṭinōm tiralan...*
31. *[varakālataṟa kaṭṭiluḷḷa] nāṭṭuc ceṭṭiyum tiraḷaṉ kampanāna piḷḷaiccakalan nānātēci iṭṭa*
32. *munaivallapa nānātēcikkōṉum—nātan namvīṭṭu muṟiyāṉum kūttan kālanāna*

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[115] Vide *CTI* 1, p. 54, and cupparāyalu, caṇmukaṉ, "ilaṅkaiyil aiññūṟṟuvar kaḷveṭṭukaḷ", pp. 33–34.

*33. nūṟāyiran tacamaṭi mummata vāraṇap piḷḷaiyum vīrakaḷ muṟpēr arayan kūttanāna vīrakaḷ*
*34. aiññūṟṟuva maṇṭila ayiraṣṭāṉamum pirāṉ cāttanāna vīrakaḷ cēnāpati—yāṇṭānum*
*35. kampan villanāna cēnapati vīrakāḷaiyum nāṭṭarayan kaṇṇaṉāṉa āḷai aṟuvanampala piḷ*
*36. ḷaiyāṇṭānum tiruvaraṅkan ēṟanāna tēciyāparaṇap piḷḷaiyum [vaṭatēca] pa*
*37. tineṇpūmi vīrarōm aṟamarvaṟka.*

## 6.9.3. Translation

"Hail Prosperity. The refuge of the entire world. The Vīravaḷañceyar possessing the long luminous and fiery spear, endowed with the edict of the Five Hundred Heroes, famous throughout the world on account of their valour and whose faces are adorned by Lakṣmī, are the offspring of the lineages of Śrī Vāsudeva, Khaṇḍhali and Mūlabhadra. They observe steadfastly the noble law of the association (*samayam*) in the eighteen *paṭṭiṉam* (towns), the thirty-two *vēḷāpuram* (coastal towns) and the sixty-*four kaṭikait-tāvalam* (periodic fairs). They are the children of Paramēśvarī of Aiya(p)poḷil who resides in all towns.

The eighteen *paṭṭiṉam*, the thirty-two *vēḷāpuram*, the sixty-four *kaṭikait-tāvalam*, the *ceṭṭiputtirar* (member of a community of traders), the *kavaṟai (*a class of traders), the *kātripan* (member of a class of traders), the *kāmuṇṭasvāmi* (member of a class of soldiers), the *oṭṭaṉ* (member of a community of traders), the *pacum-paik-kāṟaṉ*, "he who carries the money bag", the *aṅkakkāran* (member of a class of soldiers), the *āvaṇakkāṟaṉ*, " member of vendors on the markets", the... *vīraṉ*, "hero", the *pāvāṭai-vīrar*, "heroes (endowed with the privilege of walking on) cloth spread", those who are proficient in Sanskrit and Tamiḻ and those who ride donkeys which never falter, those who conduct their business in conformity with laws so as to enable the sceptre to be held forward prominently so that righteousness shall prevail and evil will disappear, with their fame spreading in all directions. All these are the Five Hundred of the thousand directions in the eighteen countries and the four quarters (of the earth).

We, the heroes of the eighteen lands including Kaṇṭiyamuttar, attached to them (make this resolution): We have been greatly honoured by the *perumakkaḷ* (governing body) of the Mācēnakāmam otherwise called Taṉmacākarap-*paṭṭiṉam*. They secured the release of our companion Mutavaḷan Muttan otherwise called *nānātēciyāṇṭān*, who was arrested by Vēṇāṭutaiyār and put in chains, after paying a ransom in money (*āṭaṅkācu*). Besides, they have made (a) silver amulet(s) and presented them to us, and have named this town as *eṟivīraṉ-tāṉam* after our company (*kulappeyariṭṭu*). We on our part have decided on reciprocal measures. We shall give up our right to collect lamp oil and we as well as the nāṭṭuceṭṭis who have the right to collect

money levies in this town shall not collect the fees hereafter and we promise this upon our heroic tradition... We may collect the daily maintenance (*pakaṟ cōṟu*) allowance and for clothing (*pāvāṭai*) four *kācu* according to prevailing custom. If any one unchivalrously violates this agreement, his post as well as the instrument of authority shall be confiscated and he shall be beaten all over his back and bone joints, and in case such a person dies of agony he will be given a dog's burial. Having thus agreed we planted the stone and the plank.

[Attested by us] the *patinenpumi-vīrar*:
Tiraḷaṉ... Varakālataṟa-kaṭṭiluḷḷa nāṭṭuccetti,
Tiraḷan Kampan otherwise called Piḷḷaiccakala nānātēci iṭṭa Munaivalla-panānātēcik-kōṉ, Nātan namvīṭṭumuṟiyāṉ,
Këttaṉ Kālaṉ otherwise called Nūṟāyiraṉ tacamaṭi-mummata-vāraṇappiḷḷai,
Vīrakaḷ Muṟpērarayaṉ Kūttaṉ otherwise called Aiññūṟṟuva-maṇṭila-ayiraṣṭānam,
Pirāṉ Cāttan otherwise called Cēnāpatiyāṇṭaṉ,
Kampaṉ Villan otherwise called Cēnāpati Vīrakāḷai,
Nāṭṭarayaṉ Kaṇṇaṉ Aṟuvanampalapiḷḷai-y-āṇṭaṉ,
Tiruvaraṅkan ēṟan otherwise called Tēciyāparaṇa-p-piḷḷai.
Forget not justice."

## 6.9.4. Interpretations

The town referred to in the inscription had two alternative names, *mācēnakāmam* and *taṉmacākarap-paṭṭiṉam*, of which the first was doubtless the earlier one. The name *mācēnakāmam* appears to be a Tamiḻ form of the Sinhala or Pāli name *mahāsenagāma*, *which* is formed by combining the expressions *mahāsena* and *gāma*. The locality was originally a village, as indicated by the expression *gāma,* and was probably named after *Mahāsena*, who is known to have constructed a large number of irrigation works.[116] The tank at Galevela to which reference has been made earlier, in all probability, had its origins under the ruler Mahāsena (334–361, 274–301).

The second name, *taṉmacākarap-paṭṭiṉam*, suggests that it was originally a village (*gāma*) that had grown into a town (*paṭṭiṉam*) due to the social changes taking place during the Polonnaṟuvai period. The development of trade through the agencies of the itinerant merchants seems to have provided the stimulus for this development. The development of the *taṉmacākarap-paṭṭiṉam* suggests that it had become a centre of market-oriented exchanges involving the collection and distribution of local products and the staples of long distance trade, and a focal point where routes traversed by caravans of merchants converged. The importance of the locality was further highlighted by the fact that it provided access to the regions of Malayadesa where some of

[116] *Mhv* 34:47–50.

the staples of itinerant trade such as pepper, ginger, cinnamon, saffron and areca nuts were to be found.[117]

The name *taṉmacākarap-paṭṭiṉam*, which is formed by combining the expressions *taṉmacākara* and *paṭṭiṉam*, is significant for suggesting a close connection between the merchant communities which had established this particular *paṭṭiṉam* and the Buddhist temple of the locality. The expression *taṉmacākara*, which means "the ocean of dharma", is reminiscent of the names *amirtacākarar* and *kuṇacākarar*, which belonged to two reputed Tamiḻ grammarians both of whom were Caiṉar.[118] The word *taṉmacākara* may be considered as an epithet of the puttar, and as there are several instances where towns dominated by merchants were named after the epithets of deities, it may be assumed that the *paṭṭiṉam* at Vikārakiṉṉai was named after an epithet of the puttar. Such an explanation is supported by the consideration that the inscription pertaining to the town was set up within the premises of the Buddhist temple.

The Nānātēcis and other merchant communities at Taṉmacākarap-paṭṭiṉam probably established a reciprocal relationship with the monastic establishment and the temple, which occupied a dominant position in the religious, social and cultural life of the community of the locality. Rare commodities of distant origin such as camphor, sandalwood, incense, oils, silks, cloth and porcelain required for these institutions were probably supplied by itinerant merchants by special arrangement, and it may be supposed that the merchants occasionally made substantial donations to them. Such an interaction seems to have given the merchants a free access to a wider community beyond the limits of the town.

The close interaction between the merchant guilds and Buddhist institutions is recorded in inscriptions from Anurādhapura, Poloṉṉaṟuvai and Budumuttāva. The Tooth Relic Temple at Poloṉṉaṟuvai was once placed under the custody of a military unit serving the *nakaram* of the Vaḷañceyar in that city,[119] and accordingly named after it. At Vikkiramacalāmēkapuram there was a Buddhist temple called Aññurruvan-paḷḷi, which was obviously named after a merchant community.[120] At Taṉmacākarap-paṭṭiṉam the relationship was in the reverse order. Here, we have an instance where the town established by merchant communities was named after *taṉmacākarar*, which, in the contemporary Ilaṅkai context, could only be an epithet of the puttar. Such a situa-

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[117] These commodities were among the staples of international trade. They are referred to in many of the inscriptions set up by the mercantile communities in South India. They were also exported from the island in substantial quantities to the South Indian ports for resale and distribution.Vide Pathmanathan, "The Tamiḻ Slab Inscription of the Virakkoṭi…", pp. 24–25.

[118] Amirtacākarar was the author of the grammatical treatise called *yāpparuṅkalam*. The commentary on it was written by Kuṉacākarar.

[119] The expression nākarattār found in the text of the Slab Inscription of the Vēḷaikkārar from Poloṉṉaṟuvai may be construed as one which denotes the members of the governing body of a *nakaram* or "market-town". Vide *SII* 4, no 1412; Pathmanathan, "The Nagaram of the Nanadesis in Sri Lanka Circa A.D. 1000–1300", pp. 136–139.

[120] Patmanatan, "The Tamiḻ Slab Inscription of the Virakkoti at Budumuttava...", p. 21.

tion presupposes that the merchant communities of the locality enjoyed the support and patronage of the Buddhist establishment.

It would appear from a careful scrutiny of the preamble of the inscription concerned that two merchant communities, the Nānātēsis and the Vīravaḷañceyar, were jointly responsible for constituting the *paṭṭiṉam*.

The *praśasti* of the mercantile communities is generally a poetic and conventional description, which records myths, traditions and historical information pertaining to their origins, social status and activities. The adoption of the *praśasti* of the Aññuṟṟvar by other communities has resulted in a great deal of confusion. All of them claim descent from a trinity of divinities: Vāsudeva, Kaṇḍhali and Mūlabhadra. All of them acknowledged Aiya (p) poḻil Paramēśvarī as their tutelary deity. Yet, it should be noted that such claims do not provide any indication of the history of their social origins or their religious affiliations. The merchants were of high social status and the membership of the guilds was of a composite character.

They were mostly adherents of cults included within the fold of Hinduism. It is probable that some of them were devout *cāktar* (Śāktas). Yet their attitude in matters of religion was one of eclecticism. They are generally known to have extended support and patronage to Caiva, Vaiṇava and Buddhist institutions.

The three categories of localities called respectively *pattiṇam*, *vēḷāpuram* and *kaṭikaitāvaḷam* represented different levels at which market-oriented exchanges were conducted by merchant guilds. The ones called *paṭṭiṉam* were market towns with rows of shops, warehouses and bazaars where business was transacted continuously by local residents and itinerants. There were hundreds of such towns in South India and a great deal of historical information pertaining to them is found in inscriptions. The *vēḷā-puram* and *kaṭikai-t-tāvaḷam* cannot be easily defined and epigraphic references to them are only a few in number. The only available reference to a locality where an institution called vēḷāpuram existed is to be found in the inscription from Barus in Sumatra, which has recently been fully deciphered, edited and published by Noboru Karashima and Ellevan Subbarāyalu.[121] The *katikai-t-tāvaḷam* has been defined as a fair held periodically, on designated days of the week, where groups of merchants halted their caravans and conducted business transactions with local inhabitants and traders.[122] The words *vēḷā* and *kaṭikai,* which are prefixed respectively to *puram* and *tāvalam,* seem to suggest that they denoted localities where trading operations were conducted during certain designated periods of time. It may be that the *vēḷāpuram* designated marketing centres where the peak period of activity was seasonal. The numbers 18, 32 and 64 which are

[121] The inscriptions of the Ayyāvoḷe and other merchant guilds are mostly found at the premises of Caiva, Vaiṇava, Jaina and Buddhist Shrines in Kaṉṉaṭam, Tamiḻnāṭu and Āntiram. There are instances where the main shrines affiliated to one or the other of these four traditions have been named after mercantile communities. Vide Abraham, *Two...*, pp. 204–206, 208–211, 227–229.
[122] Hall, *Trade...*, p. 105.

associated respectively with *paṭṭiṉam*, *vēḷāpuram* and *kaṭikait-tāvaḷam* are conventional and do not have any significance.

That the *praśasti* of the inscription concerned consists of two parts each of which is devoted to a description of one of the two merchant communities, the Vīravalañceyar and the Nānadesis, is significant for providing an indication of the fact that the Taṉmacākarappaṭṭiṉam was composite in character. It may be that both these communities were represented in the *paṭṭiṉam*, as was the case at Vahāḷkada. The *vīravaḷañceyar,* perhaps, functioned in that town as auxiliaries of the Nānadesis in a subordinate capacity.

The epigraph under consideration records some information relating to a conflict between a local chieftain called *vēnāṭu-uṭaiyār* and the merchant community. A certain (Mukutavaḷan) Muttaṉ, otherwise called *nānātēciyāṇṭāṉ*, who belonged to the military community of *eṟivīrirar* was seized and taken captive by the chieftain, his hands fettered with chains (*piṭittuc ciṟai ceytu oṇpātukait taḷai-yiḻuppiṉ pōtu*). The *perumakkaḷ* of the *paṭṭiṉam* are said to have secured his release by paying a sum of money (*āṭaṅkācu kuṭuttu vīṭu koṇṭamaiyil*). The *perumakkaḷ* of the *paṭṭiṉam* are also said to have conferred some honours and privileges on the *eṟivīrar*. They were presented with silver amulet(s) and the *paṭṭiṉam* was named *eṟivīrantāṉam* after them. The military community reciprocated by surrendering the right to collect oil for burning lamps. They also promised that the nāṭṭu-ceṭṭis who collected dues in the *paṭṭiṉam* would no longer be allowed that privilege. Instead they were to receive maintenance during the daytime (*pakaṟ-cōṟu*) and the customary payment of four *kācu,* and enjoy freedom of access to the *paṭṭiṉam*.

The circumstances leading to the arrest of Nānātēci-yāṇṭāṉ by Vēnāṭu-uṭaiyār are not mentioned in the text of the inscription. Neither can the identity of the chieftain be ascertained. The expression *vēnāṭu-uṭaiyār* is a compound of two separate words, *vēnāṭu* and *utaiyār*. The first of these words denotes a territorial division while the second one is the designation of a chieftain of such a division. *vēnāṭu* mentioned here is not to be confused with *vēnāṭu* in Keraḷam. The merchant communities seem to have had their own lists of names to designate territorial divisions in Ilaṅkai, and *vēnāṭu* seems to have been one of them. Or else it could be the Tamiḻised form of a Sinhala name. Nevertheless, he was indoubtedly a chieftain who exercised authority over the region in which the *taṉmacākarap-paṭṭiṉam* was included. It is also possible that he was a military chief serving under a ruler. The conflict he had with the merchants may be explained in two ways. He could have abused his position of authority to demand a ransom from the merchants and arrested one of their agents when his demands were not met. Another plausible explanation is that the *paṭṭiṉam* was in default in respect of a payment which had to be made to the higher authorities. The affair was settled by the intervention of the *perumakkaḷ*, the governing body of the *paṭṭiṉam*.

The *eṟivīraṉtāṉam* referred to in this inscription seems to be synonymous with *vīrataḷam*, an expression that is recorded in the concluding portion of the

inscriptions from Budumuttāva and Galtenpitiya.[123] These expressions are also found in some Indian inscriptions recording the activities of merchant communities. For instance, Āṟṟūr of Āṟṟūr -nāṭu is described as *eṟivīraṉtāṉam* in an inscription from Cittaiyaṉ-kōṭṭai in Tiṇṭukkal.[124] On the basis of information found in this inscription it may be assumed that the *paṭṭiṉam* established by the Aññūrruvar and the Vīravaḷañceyar at Vikārakiṉṉai was renamed *eṟivīraṉ-tāṉam* after the name of the military community called *eṟivīrar* who were in their service. Such a step presupposes that the merchant communities of the *paṭṭiṉam* had conceded to the warriors certain privileges to which they were not entitled to earlier.

The inscription from Vihārēhinna records the names of ten people who belonged to the group of warriors called *eṟivīrar*. They refer to themselves as *patineṇpūmivīrarōm,*[125] which is the first person plural form of *patineṇpūmivīrar*. The assertive character of this group, which is suggested by the tone and contents of the inscription, provides an indication of the fact that they had considerable influence and authority in matters pertaining to the activities of the merchant communities. In addition to providing security they seem to have exercised some administrative functions.

A group of warriors called *eṟivīrar* are sometimes mentioned in the list of communities associated with the mercantile communities in inscriptional preambles. But the reference to them as a group of people engaged in specific activities at a locality on the island comes exclusively from the epigraph from Vikārakiṉṉai. The expression *eṟivīrantāṉam* clearly suggests that the *paṭṭiṉam* was named after a military community called *eṟivīrar*. The position held by them at Taṉmacākarappaṭṭinam was similar to that held by the Vīrakkoṭi at Vikkiramacalāmēkapuram, Vakālkaṭai(Vahālkaḍa) and Kaltampiṭṭi (Galtenpiṭiya).

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[123] The inscription from Barus, Sumatra, refers to the Vēḷāpuram in Varōcu otherwise called Mātaṅkari-Vallava-tēci-Uyyakoṇṭa-paṭṭiṉam. The English translation of the text as rendered by Karashima reads:

"In the Saka year 1010 current (1088 AD), month Masi. We the Five Hundred (*aiṉṉūṟṟuvarōm*) of the Thousand Directions, known in all countries and directions, having met at Vēḷāpuram in Varosu alias Mātaṅgari-Vallava desi—uyyakoṇḍa pattinam, decided to grant as follows to our son(s)," [ie] nagara-senāpati nāṭṭu ceṭṭiyār, padineṇ-būmi-desi-appar and the māvēttugaḷ"

[Each of] the ships... ships' Captain and the *kēvigal* (boat-rowers) shall pay the fee *añjutuṇḍāyam* in gold according to the price of the kastūri and [then only] may step on the cloth-spread.

Thus we the five Hundred of the Thousand Directions known in every direction in all the Eighteen Lands got this stone written and planted. Do not forget charity: Charity alone is the good companion." [Quoted from the abbreviated text of a lecture delivered at the Faculty of Arts, University of Peradeniya, 10 August 1998.]

[124] Hall, *Trade* ..., p. 145.

[125] The expressions *āṟṟūrnāṭṭu āṟṟūrāṉa eṟivīra-taḷaṭṭu* which translate "*āṟṟūr* otherwise called *eṟivīra-taḷam* of *āṟṟūrnāṭu*" clearly suggest that the word *vīrataḷam* denoted an institution and an area over which it exercised authority and the limits of which corresponded with those of a village. In this particular instance the village of āṟṟūr had been transformed into a *vīrataḷam*. *vīrataḷam* may therefore be construed as an alternate designation of *vīrapaṭṭiṉam*. Vide pa caṅkaralinkam, "cittaiyaṉ kōṭṭaik kalveṭṭukaḷ", p. 35.

In conclusion, it may be stated that the formation of Taṉmacākarappaṭṭiṉam coincided with the peak period of commercial activities in pre-colonial Ilaṅkai, which provided a fresh impetus for the process of urbanisation and inter-cultural communication. The *paṭṭiṉam* was probably organised by two merchant guilds, the *nānātēci* and the *vīravalañceyar,* and named after an epithet of the puttar on account of the close connections it had with the Buddhist establishment of the locality.

It would appear from the tone and contents of the text of the inscription that at a particular stage in its development the *paṭṭiṉam* was named *eṟivīrantāṉam* after the military community of *eṟivīrar*. This was done following a decision taken by the governing body of the *paṭṭiṉam*, which was dominated by merchants. Such a decision on the part of the merchants presupposes that the power and influence of the military community within the *paṭṭiṉam* was growing on account of certain circumstances the precise nature of which cannot presently be ascertained.

## 6.10. A Pillar Inscription from Morakakavelai

### *Civacuppiriyamaṇiyam Patmanātaṉ*

### 6.10.1. Introduction

The Tamiḻ Pillar Inscription at Morakakavelai (Moragahawela) in Tammankaṭavai (Tammankaduva) in the North Central Province was discovered in 1891 by H C P Bell, who was the Archaeological Commissioner on the island. The text of the inscription is indited in 28 lines on two sides of a small pillar, three and half feet in length.

The estampage was sent to the Indian epigraphist Kiruṣṇa Cāttiri (Krishna Sastri) for decipherment. Later, he published the text of the epigraph in the 4th volume of *South Indian Inscriptions*.[126] Subsequently, this incription was edited and published by Professor Ka Kaṇapatipiḷḷai, Head of the Department of Tamiḻ, at the University of Ceylon, Peradeniya, in 1960.[127] His version of the text, as could be expected, is an improvement on that of Kiruṣṇa Cāttiri but his interpretation and translation of some portions of it are wrong.[128]

The epigraph is dated in the 28th year of the reign of Jayapāhu (Jayabāhu I (1114–1116, 1110–1111)), who was consecrated king at Poloṉṉaṟuvai

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[126] *SII* 4, No.1406, p. 492. Text read by the author on the basis of an estampage prepared by the Archaeological Department of Ceylon.

[127] Kanapathipillai, "A Pillar Inscription from Moragahawela", pp. 46–49.

[128] Kanapathipillai, "A Pillar Inscription from Moragahawela", pp. 46–49. The name of the donor, *uḷakāyakkittan*, was deciphered as *ulakālakkittaṉ* by Kiruṣṇa Cāttiri. The locality where Uḷakāyakkittan had been assigned lands was recognized by him as *pitavāy ūr*. In all other respects his decipherment is found to be acceptable. Vide*SII* 4, p. 494.

around1110 AD, on the death of his elder brother Vicayapāhu (Vijayabāhu II) (1059–1114, 1055–1110). He was, however, deposed soon afterwards by Vikkiramapāhu (Vikramabāhu II)(1116-1137, 1111–1132), his nephew and son of his predecessor. Jayapāhu took up residence with his sister, Mittā, and her son, Kīrtticirimēkaṉ (Kittisirimegha), at Mahānāgakula in the southernmost part of the island where he spent the last days of his life in obscurity.

Vikkiramapāhu who deposed Jayapāhu at Poloṉṉaṟuvai was on his death around 1132 AD succeeded by his son, Gajabāhu (Gajabāhu II (1137–1153, 1132–1153)), who remained in power for a period of 21 years. As both Vikkiramapāhu and Gajabāhu II exercised royal authority without undergoing the ceremony of consecration, inscriptions set up during their periods of rule were dated in regnal years of the last consecrated ruler, Jayapāhu I. The practice was continued for many years even after his death. As the 28th year of Jayapāhu corresponds to 1138 AD, according to how it is calculated today on the island, it may he assumed that the inscription under consideration was indited around the 5th year of Gajabāhu II's reign.

## 6.10.2. The Inscription

The epigraph is indited in Tamiḻ characters of the twelth century with an admixture of Grantha. All Sanskrit expressions and letters are engraved in Grantha script. Although the inscription is brief the information it contains is of unusual interest and deserves a more careful and detailed consideration than that attempted by Ka Kaṇapatipiḷḷai.

Text

*1 śrī jebā*
*2 hu dēvar*
*3 kku yāṇṭu*
*4 28 āva*
*5 tu uḻakāya*
*6 k kittanē*
*7 ṉ jīvitam*
*8 peṟṟa patā*
*9 lāy ūril*
*10 nāṉ puttark*
*11 ku iṭṭukkuṭu*
*12 tta iṉṉilam*
*13 oru vēli*
*14 yum eṉṉi*
*15 ṟ piṉpu i*
*16 ddarmmam a*
*17 ḻittāno*
*18 ruvaṉ mūṉ*

*19 ṟu kōyi*
*20 lum aḻit*
*21 tāṉāvāṉ mū*
*22 ṉṟu kaik*
*23 kum piḻait*
*24 tāṉāvāṉ*
*25 itukku ā*
*26 caippaṭuvā*
*27 ṉ taṉ tākku ā*
*28 caippaṭuvāṉ*

Translation
"In the 28th year of Je(ya)bāhu tēvar, this land of the extent of one *vēli* at the village of Patālāy, which has been given to me on service tenure, has been given to [the monastery of] the puttar by me, Uḻakāyakittaṉ. If any one violates this act of merit he would incur the sin of destroying "the three kōyils". He would incur the sin of violating the codes of (the army of) the three arms. If any one covets this land he would incur the sin of coveting his own mother".

## 6.10.3. Interpretations

The inscription formulated in three brief sentences records the donation of a strip of land made by a person called Uḻakāyakittaṉ to a Buddhist institution. The name and character of the institution are not described and it is said that the grant is given *puttarkku*, "to the puttar". Yet, as similar donative inscriptions found amidst the remains of the *Rājarājapperumpaḷḷi* use the same expression to denote the recipient, it may be assumed that Ulakāyakkittaṉ made a grant of land to a temple attached to a monastery.[129] The institution was presumably located in the village of Patālāy or at a site close to it.

It is on account of a misunderstanding of the expressions *jīvitam peṟṟa patālāy ūril* that Ka Kaṇapatipiḷḷai contends that the donor "was born in the village of Patālaya".[130] It is difficult to imagine how the word *jīvitam* could have eluded his comprehension. Besides, in Tamiḻ usage it was never used to describe birth. It usually connotes "source of life" or "sustenance". In epigraphy it is used in connection with lands given on service tenure. Such assignments were given as remuneration for service. Originally what was assigned was the king's dues from land and not the proprietorship of the soil. In course of time, however, the terms of such assignments were modified.

The Jetavanārāma Sanskrit Inscription, which contains one of the earliest references to *jīvitam* in Ilaṅkai, testifies that some plots of land were assigned as *jīvitam*. It records that masons and carpenters received 1.5 *kiriya* of field (6

[129] Vide *CTI* 1, pp. 18–19.
[130] Kanapathipillai, "A Pillar Inscription from Moragahawela", pp. 46–49.

*amuṇam*) and *vatti* (enclosure, garden, house site) as their *jīvitam*.[131] The village of Patālāy, described as a *jīvita* held by Uòakāyakkittan in the epigraph from Morakakavelai, also probably belonged to the same category of service tenure lands.

That Uḻakāyakittaṉ was in military service and that he was indeed a *vēḷaikkāṟaṉ* is suggested by the dedicatory expressions in the inscription, which run

"If anyone abrogates this act of merit (*dharmmam*) after my life time, he would incur the sin of destroying "the three temples". He would also incur the sin of violating the (code of) the three arms (*mūṉṟukai*). If there be any one who covets this land he would incur the sin of coveting his own mother".

These exhortations are intended to impress upon the minds of the donor's heirs that they should never be a party to the abrogation of the grant which would amount to a sinful and immoral act of the highest magnitude. Significantly, it is claimed that it would amount to immoral treachery against one's own mother, violation of the codes of one's own professional association and sacrilege. Our immediate concern here is the reference to the *mūṉṟukai*. As an expression it is sometimes prefixed to *makācēṉai* meaning "the great army", and the compound expression *muṉṟukai makāceṉai* occurring in inscriptions may be rendered as "the great army of the three arms". The expression *mūṉṟukai* evidently had a military connotation and was applied to a group of people in the military profession. The fact that such a group is referred to as one whose codes have to be respected by their descendants *(eṉṉiṟpiṉpu)* presupposes that Ulakāyakkittaṉ, the donor of the land grant, was a warrior attached to an army constituted on a corporate basis.

In Tamiḻ inscriptions in Ilaṅkai the expression *mūṉṟukai* occurs only in those recording the activities of the *vēḷaikkārar*. The epigraph from Kallōya (Galoya), near Poloṉṉaṟuvai, contains the expressions *mūṉṟukaitiruvēḷaikkāṟaṉ*.[132] Moreover, the Poloṉṉaṟuvai Slab Inscription of the *vēḷaikkaṟar* states that the Tooth Relic Temple at Poloṉṉaṟuvai was named *mūṉṟu-kait tiruvēḷaikkāṟaṉ taladāyp-perumpaḷḷi*.[133] On account of these considerations, it may be assumed that the inscription under consideration was set up by someone who belonged to a group of warriors called *mūṉṟu-kait-tiruvēḷaikkārar*. The occurrence of the term *vēli*, in the inscription may be of some significance. It may provide an indication of the fact that this particular group of warriors had been established on the island since the days of the Cōḻa conquest.[134]

The expression *mūṉṟukōyil* as found in the imprecatory portion of the text is unusual in its epigraphic usage. It does not appear to have been employed in the text of any other inscription brought to light so far. The direct meaning of

[131] *EZ* 1, pp. 1–9.
[132] *SII* 4, no. 1398, p. 493.
[133] *SII* 4, no. 1396, p. 492.
[134] The word *vēli* in the sense of a unit of land is encountered in Lankan inscriptions only since the establishment of Cōḻa rule in the island. It is the large unit in land measurements and is reckoned as being equivalent to 6.74 acres.

the expression is "three temples", but in this instance the reference is not to three temples but to something else. Evidently it denotes an object or category of objects considered to be sacred and held in veneration in a local religious tradition. In donative inscriptions relating to Hindu temples this expression does not occur at all. As the inscription concerned records a donation to a Buddhist institution, it may be explained in the context of Buddhist ideology and practice. Yet, Kaṇapatipiḷḷai's interpretation of *mūṉṟukōyil* as a reference to the three *nikāya*s appears to be untenable. Buddhists in Ilaṅkai during the period under consideration, especially the monks, identified themselves with one or the other of the three *nikāyas*. Besides, there is no tradition of all the three *nikāyas* being held sacred. The *mūṉṟukōyil* may therefore be considered as being a reference to something that is sacred to all Buddhists irrespective of sectarian differences. It is therefore suggested here that it is a metaphorical allusion to the *triratna*—the puttar, *dhamma* and the *saṃgha*.[135] Such an interpretation presupposes that Tamiḻ Buddhists on the island transferred terminology traditionally associated with Hindu institutions to Buddhist concept while coining new words and expressions. The word kōyil in Tamiḻ is usually applied in connection with Caiva or Vaiṇava temples and the palace.

Six symbols including a conch shell, a lance, the sun, moon and the crescent are depicted on the top portion of the stone. The combination of all these figures is of unusual significance. The sun, the moon, and even the cresent are usually found depicted in Sinhala donative inscriptions. These figures probably imply that the grant was to be maintained in perpetuity. The inclusion of a weapon, the lance, which is the unusual feature in this case may be significant as providing an indication of the social status of the donor as a warrior.

The conch shell, which is sometimes depicted on stone slabs and pillars on which texts recording donations to Caiva and Vaiṇava temples are indited, may represent values associated with the Vaiṇava tradition. A consideration of these symbols perhaps suggests that the warriors with whom the donor was associated were originally Hindus who became converts to Buddhism.

## 6.11. A Tamiḻ Inscription from Paṅḍuvasnuvara. The Establishment of a *pirivuṉa* at Śrīpura nakar

*Civacuppiramaṇiyam Patmanātaṉ*

### 6.11.1. Introduction

A Tamiḻ inscription engraved on a broad stone pillar was found at Paṅḍuvasnuvara by the Archaeological Commissioner in 1951. The initial portion of the text seems to have been lost as the upperpmost portion of the pillar was cut off.

[135] Kanapathipillai, "A Pillar Inscription from Moragahawela", p. 47.

As there are traces of letters over the entire surface of the stone above the uppermost line, it may be assumed that the benedictory expressions and the royal titles and epithets were incorporated in the lost portion.

This epigraph is dated in the 5th year of the reign of a king, Parākrampāhu Niccaṅkamallar, and records the establishment of a *piruvuṉa*, "monastic college", named after an army leader called Parākrama Atikāri, at the town of Śrīpura nakar. As it provides important information on some aspects of the reign of Niccaṅkamalla (Niśśaṃkamalla (1187–1196) and some of the Buddhist establishments at Śrīpura nakar, the contents of this inscription deserve careful consideration and elucidation.

The text of the inscription formulated in the form of a verse in the *viruttam* metre is engraved on 22 lines in Tamiḻ characters of the 12th century with an admixture of Grantha. The paleography of the record represents a more advanced stage of development than that of those recorded in the regnal years of Jayabāhu I (1114–1116, 1110–1111).[136] The letters indited on the stone are in a very good state of preservation and so clear as to facilitate a successful decipherment.

As the text was drafted by those conversant with Tamiḻ literary and poetic traditions there are not many orthographic errors. The confusion between the dental *na* and the alveolar *ṉa* which is very common in Tamiḻ epigraphy occurs only at one place in the text.[137] There are only two instances where colloquial forms are recorded instead of the standard grammatical forms.[138] The occurrence of such forms is obviously due to carelessness or an inadequate level of literacy on the part of the engraver.

## 6.11.2. Text[139]

*1 teṉṉilaṅkaik kō*
*2 n parākrama pāhu nic*
*3 caṅkamallaṟkiyāṇ*
*4 ṭañciṟ tiṉakaraṉ cuṟa*
*5 vilaṇainta vat*
*6 taiyyil uttiraṭṭāti*
*7 yēḻ pakkam poṉṉavaṉ*
*8 tiṉa naṟcāta yōkattil*
*9 uyartarum pōtimātava*
*10 ṟkup poṟpamar kōyil mu*

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[136] For an explanation of "the regnal year of Jeyabāhu I", vide p. 000 in this volume.

[137] In *makuḻṉtēy* that is the last expression in the text the alveolar *ṉ* is engraved instead of the dental *n*.

[138] The two such instances are in *tiruppiyaraṉ* (line 16) and *makulntēy* (line 21). The corresponding standard grammatical forms are *tiruppeyaraṉ* and *makiḻntē*.

[139] This text is established on the basis of the reading from a photograph of the estampage prepared by the Archaeological Department. It was verified by a personal inspection of the inscribed pillar by the author.

*11 ṉivarālayan tēṉāṟan*
*12 tikaḷ cālaiyuñ cayīttam*
*13 aṉṉavai tikaḷa aivar kaṇ*
*14 ṭaṉ vanuvēri ilaṅkai ati*
*15 kāri ala(ṅ)kruta puyaṉ teṉparā*
*16 kramaṉ mēṇaic cenevi nā*
*17 taṉ tiruppiyaraṉ maṉṉi*
*18 ya ciṟappil malitaru maḷakā*
*19 ṟ parākrama atikārip piri*
*20 vuṉa vaḷartara amaittāṉ*
*21 śrīpura nakaruḷ matimāṉ pañ*
*22 caraṉ makuḷṉtēy*

"In the fifth year of Parākramapāhu Niccaṅkamallar, the king of Ilaṅkai in the South, the Parākrama *atikāri*, *vanuvēri*, the vanquisher of the Five [Pāṇṭiya], a repository of strength and wisdom, who was a grandson of the *cenevi nātaṉ* (sēnāpati) Mēṇai, established with pleasure the *parākrama atikārip pirivuṉa* to flourish at the town of Śrīpura nakar so that these—the beautiful temple (kōyil) of the exalted ascetic (*muṉivar*) who attained enlightenment, the monastery (*ālayam*), the splendid street exhuming the odour of honey and the *cayittam*—would become pre-eminent on the occasion when the sun had gone into the Zodiac Capricorn on *poṉṉavaṉtiṉam* (Thursday), which is the seventh day of the fortnight, in the month of *Tai* [Jan–Feb the *nakṣatra*] being Uttiraṭṭāti."

## 6.11.3. Revisions

This inscription was first deciphered, edited and published by Ka Kaṇapatipiḷḷai in the *University of Ceylon Review*, 1960.[140] Comments on this paper in the form of notes by K K Kiruṣṇan (K.G. Krishnan) and Senerat Paranavitana were later published in another issue of the journal. Kiruṣṇan convincingly pointed out that the text of the epigraph is a verse composition in the *viruttam* metre and suggested revisions of the text deciphered by Kaṇapatippiḷḷai in certain places.[141] In the meantime, Paranavitana concentrated on the identification of the ruler referred to in the inscription as Niccaṅkamallar and took up the untenable position that the ruler concerned was not Niśśaṅkamalla (1187–1196), but a prince called Parākramabāhu sojourning in South India during the early 13th century. It would appear that none of these scholars adequately understood the meaning of the text and the significance of its contents.

The text deciphered by Kaṇapatipiḷḷai has to be revised in a few places according to the suggestions made by the Indian epigraphist Kiruṣṇan. Even

[140] Kanapatipiḷḷai, "A Tamiḻ Inscription from Panduvasnuwara", pp. 157–162,271.
[141] Krishnan, Paranavitana, "Notes on the Tamiḻ Inscription from Panduvasnuvara", pp. 15–17.

Kiruṣṇan appears to have slipped into error in respect of two expressions in lines 11 and 15 of the text. The expression *tēṉaṟantikaḻ* as deciphered by both of them does not appear on the stone in that form. The second letter in this expression found on the engraved stone is *ṉā* and not ṉa. Therefore this expression may be recognized as *tēṉāṟantikaḻ*. It could be split up into three words: tēṉ, "honey", *nāṟum*, "exhuming an odour", and *tikaḻ*, "being splendid".[142] It is employed as an allegorical expression describing the *cālai*, which follows this expression in the text (see line 12).

## 6.11.4. *cālai*

The word *cālai* means "hall". It refers to an alms hall, a sacrifical hall, a large hall, a school or an avenue with rows of trees on either side.[143] The connotation of *cālai* referred to in the present record has to be understood in the light of the qualifying expression which precedes it. So *tēṉ nāṟam tikaḻ cālai* may be construed as an avenue, splendid on account of the flowers on the trees and creepers on its sides shedding drops of honey. What is encountered here is a poetic description which is in conformity with poetic traditions. The explanation given by Kaṇapatipiḷḷai that the *cālai* concerned was an alms hall for the distribution of delicious food is obviously incorrect. The people concerned were the community of monks and considerations of propriety require that the quality of the food served as alms should not be spoken of.

## 6.11.5. *alaṃkruta puyaṉ*

The expression in line 14 deciphered as *alakrtapuyan* by Kaṇapatipiḷḷai has been read as *alakutapuyan* by Kiruṣṇan. It may be observed here that words and expressions recognized in texts should be lexical items conveying meanings. The forms *alakrtapuyan* and *alakutapuyan* are not such items. Of course, one has to take into account the possibility of one or more letters in an expression being left out through carelessness on the part of the engraver, but this does not seem to have happened in this case. As there is a faint trace of the *anusvāra* in the form of a small circle between *la* and *kr* the expression concerned may be recognized as *alaṃkruta puyaṉ*. The term *alaṃkruta* occurs also in the preambles of the inscriptions of the *nānatēci* from Kaṭṭaṇēri (Vākalkaṭai) and Pati(Padaviya, Padīvāpi).[144] The *alaṃkrutapuyaṉ* may be explained as a compound expression denoting a person or dignitary whose arms were decorated with ornaments or insignia of rank, and the person concerned here was one who had the status of a general.

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[142] The word *nāṟu* has the following connotations:1. "to emit (a sweet smell)", 2. "to appear", "to arise", 3. "to come into being" and 4. "to sprout". Vide *TL* 4, p. 2236.
[143] *TL* 3, p. 1392.
[144] *CTI* 1, pp. 54–55.

## 6.11.6. Kaṇapatipiḷḷai's, Kiruṣṇan's and Paranavitana's Interpretations

Kaṇapatipiḷḷai, who edited this inscription, does not seem to have adequately understood the purpose for which the record was set up as suggested by the following extract of his translation of the text: "Mēṇai the commander of the forces built to flourish in Śrīpura nakara, a beautiful temple to the great *Pøtimatavar (Bodhi mātava)*, a monastery for monks, an alms hall for distribution of delicious food, a *cayittam* (*cētiya*), all this, and a college named Parākrama Atikāri Pirivuna".[145]

Thus, in his opinion a shrine, a monastery, an alms hall, a *cetiya* and a college were established by the general concerned. As Kiruṣṇan and Paranavitana have not commented on this matter it may justifiably be assumed that they both took the same view as Kaṇapatipiḷḷai. However, the interpretation that all these institutions were established by the general called Parākrama is not supported by the text. The institution called *atikāri pirivuṉa* is described in the concluding portion of the inscription, while the other institutions are described in the middle portion, which is followed by a description of the genealogy and epithets of the general. In addition, the expressions *aṉṉavai tikaḷa*, "so that these would become pre-eminent", immediately follow the reference to the shrine, the monastery, the *cayittam* and *cālai*.

For the sake of further clarification the relevant portion of the inscription may be quoted here. It runs "…so that these—the beautiful temple (*kōyil*) of the exalted ascetic (*muṉivar*) who attained enlightenment, the monastery (*ālayam*), the splendid street exuding the odour of honey and the *cayittam*—would become pre-eminent".

## 6.11.7. *pirivuṉa*

There is no explicit reference in the text to the construction of these items by the general. The institution established by the general was only the monastic college—the *pirivuṉa* (Sinhala *piriveṇa)*. The correct interpretation of the relevant passages of the text seems to be that the general Parākrama established the *pirivuṉa* through which the monastic institution to which it was attached was considered to have attained celebrity. Such an explanation presupposes that the complex of buildings consisting of a temple containing an image of the puttar, an *ālayam* (monastery), and a *cayitttam* were already in existence at Śrīpura nakar when the college was established in the 5th year of Niccaṅkamallar's reign.

The inscription is of considerable significance as a memorial monument set up to commemorate the establishment of the monastic college. The astronomical details recorded in the epigraph relate to the occasion when the institution was ceremonially inaugurated. The event occurred on a Thursday, which was

[145] Kanapathipillai, "A Tamiḷ Inscription from Panduvasnuwara", p. 162.

the seventh day of the fortnight in the month of *Tāi* (January to February) in the 5th year of the reign of Parākramapāhu Niccaṅkamallar. At that time, the constellation *uttiraṭṭāti (uttarabhādra)* was in the ascendent and the Sun had entered the sign of Capricorn. As the general who was responsible for the establishment of the institution is referred to in the third person the inscription was obviously not set up by him. Nor is there any indication in the text as to who had set it up. It may be assumed that the authorities of the monastic institution were responsible for this work. The composition of the text in Tamiḻ in accordance with poetic conventions suggests that there were among the inmates of the monastery at least some who had cultivated the tradition of Tamiḻ learning and were conversant with the literary and poetic traditions of that language.

### 6.11.8. Śrīpura nakar

Śrīpura nakar was the name by which Paṅḍuvasnuvara was known in the late 12th and 13th centuries. It was the premier town of Māyāraṭa (Dakkhinadesa) and was made the principal seat of its administration by Parākramabāhu I (1153–1186). Under him it was called Parākramapura. The small tank there known as Pāṇḍavāpi was enlarged and renamed Parākrama Samudra. In the proximity of this tank Parākramabāhu built a palace within a walled citadel.[146] Moreover, he is said to have restored the Pāṇḍavāpi Vihāra.[147]

### 6.11.9. Niccaṅkamallar

In the reign of Niccaṅkamallar the name Parākramapura seems to have been superseded by that of Śrīpura nakar.[148] Niccaṅkamallar is said to have established an alms house at Śrīpura nakar.[149] It is significant that a stone seat of this ruler similar to those found at Poloṉṉaṟuvai and Kantaḷāy was found at Pāṇḍuvasnuvara. The inscription engraved on it states that the king was seated on this throne on his return from Samanoḷa and witnessed sports and theatrical performances.[150] The *Sasadāvata*, a Sinhalese text written during the first reign of Lilāvatī (1197–1200, 1209–1210), claims that her minister Kitti repelled three Cōḻa invasions the last of which was directed against Śrīpura nakar.[151] Whether the monastic establishments referred to in the epigraph under consideration were linked to the Paṇḍavāpivihāra restored by Parākramabāhu I is a matter that can only be decided by archaeological explorations and investigations based on the results of such work.

As to the identity of the king Parākramapāhu Niccaṅkamallar referred to in

[146] Nicholas, "Civil Wars…", pp. 438–458.
[147] Ibid., p. 450.
[148] *EZ 2*, No.29, p. 178.
[149] *Report of the Archaelogical Survey of Ceylon for 1948*, pp. 22–23.
[150] Wickremasinghe, "Successors of Prākramabāhu…", p. 524.
[151] Liyanagamage, *The Decline…*, p. 68.

the epigraph there cannot be any lingering doubt that he was Niśśaṅkamalla (1186/7–1196). That he was also called Parākramap(b)āhu is known from many of his inscriptions. The Anurādhapura Ruvanväli Dāgaba Slab Inscription, for instance, describes him as Niśśaṅka Malla Kāliṅga Parākramabāhu.[152] Another epigraph, the Polonnaṟuvai Galpota Inscription refers to him as Kāliṅga Parākramabāhu Vīrarāja Niśśaṅkamalla.[153] Moreover, there was no other ruler on the island who had these names. Another important consideration in support of this identification is the fact that the date of the event recorded in the epigraph, on the basis of astronomical data it contains, corresponds to Thursday, 3rd January, 1191 which was the fifth current regnal year of Niśśṅkamalla.[154] It is significant that according to the chronological scheme worked out from other sources, Niśśaṅkamalla ascended the throne during the year 1186–7 AD. However, it should be noted that too much reliance cannot be placed on information based on astronomical details as accuracy in the calculations cannot always be taken for granted.

## 6.11.10. teṉṉilaṅkaik kōṉ

The expression *teṉṉilaṅkaik kōṉ* applied as an epithet to the king referred to in the epigraph is the reason why Paranavitana suggests that the ruler concerned was not Niśśaṅkamalla but someone else. He says: "The expression Teṉṉilaṅkaik kōṉ if it be given its most obvious interpretation of "King of South Ceylon" will not apply to Niśśaṅkamalla, for throughout his reign of nine years he was sovereign of the whole island. If the date of the record is taken as January 4, 1218 AD, the ruler whose fifth year as king of South Ilaṅkai it was could have come to power in 1214 AD, at a time when the island was going through a period of political turmoil and continued to rule the southern half of the island, while Māgha (Mākaṉ) dominated the north. Parākramabāhu Niśśaṅkamalla of our inscription could have been Parākramabāhu of Ilaṅkai who lost his life in 1230 fighting on the side of Kopperunjinga (Kōpperuñciṅkaṉ) against the allies of the Cōḷas".[155]

Paranavitana's arguments here are based on two major assumptions and not on empirical evidence. The assumptions are that the ruler described as *teṉṉilaṅkaik kōṉ* should be considered as a ruler of "the southern half of the Island" and that the dignitary described as *īḷatturāja parākramapāhu* in the Tiruvendipuram inscription was a ruler of the southern half of the island. Both these assumptions could be false.

The expression *teṉṉilaṅkai* as found in epigraphic and literary texts has three different connotations: 1. Ilaṅkai of the south, 2. Ilaṅkai in the south, and

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[152] Wickremasinghe, "*Anurādhapura Ruvanväli Dāgaba Slab Inscription*", p. 17

[153] Wickremasinghe, "*Polonnaruva Galpota Inscription*", pp. 105–115.

[154] Krishnan, Paranavitana, "*Notes...*" pp. 15–17. Kaṇapattipiḷḷai, "A Tamiḻ Inscription from Paṅduvasnuvara", p. 158.

[155] Krishnan, Paranavitana, "Notes...", pp. 15–17.

3. the southern part of Ilaṅkai. As there were localities called "Ilaṅkai" in Malayamānāṭu, the Island of Lanka was referred to as *teṉṉilaṅkai* in order to be distinguished from Ilaṅkai in the north. The expression could be and in fact was applied in certain instances to denote its location to the south of the Tamiḻ country. It is in modern usage, particularly on the island, that the expression is applied in a restricted sense to denote the southern part of the island.[156]

Paranavitana's argument that the expression *teṉṉilaṅkaik kōṉ* should be construed as having the exclusive connotation of referring to the southern part of the Island is untenable. The expression occurring in a poetic composition may justifiably be considered as a metaphorical description of Lanka in the south.

## 6.11.11. Parākramapāhu

Paranavitana's attempts to indentify the king referred to in the epigraph from Paṇḍuvasnuvara with Parākramabāhu, who was the ally of Kopperuñciṅkaṉ, are futile. That there was a prince called Parākramabāhu sojourning in South India who for a time espoused the cause of the *kāṭava* chieftain is clear from the Tiruvendipuram inscription. The fact that he is described as īḻatturāja in that record need not necessarily imply that he was a consecrated king of Īḻam (Ilaṅkai). The expression īḻattu rāca literally means "king of Īḻam". Even a prince could be so described. He was probably a prince who sought refuge in South India during a period of instability on the Island after the reign of Niśśaṃkamalla. There are no indications to suggest that he was ever in authority over any part of the Island. He was killed in battle by the Hoysala armies around 1230 AD.[157] It is also significant that Parākramabāhu is not described as Niśśaṃkamalla. There is no reference in local sources, inscriptions and chronicles to a prince called Parākrama pāhu Niccaṅkamallar who lived on the island during the 13th century. The identification of the ruler referred to in the epigraph under consideration as Niśśaṃkamalla remains incontrovertible. Such an impression is also supported by the evidence from the inscriptions of Niśśaṃkamalla which claim that he established a dānasatra in Śrīpura nakar. Of particular significance in this connection is the existence of a stone seat containing a text describing his presence in that city towards the end of his reign.

## 6.11.12. Mēṇai

The identity of the general who established the monastic college and the details pertaining to him were misconstrued by Kaṉapatipiḷḷai as is evident from his translation of the relevant portion of the text which reads "Matimāṉ pañ-

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[156] Liyanagamage discusses the arguments raised by Paranavitana, but, he seems to be unaware of the existence of localities called Ilaṅkai in the Tamiḻ country. See Liyanagamage, *The Decline*..., pp. 77–78.

[157] Vide Hultzsch, "Tiruvendipuram Inscription...", pp. 160–169.

caran named Kuḻantey, who is the destroyer of the Pāṇḍyas, Vanuvēri, the Atikari of Lankā, he whose shoulders are replete with decorations, the Teṉ parākraman, Mēṇai the commander of the forces, he who is the beloved of Tiru…"[158] That he has read into it ideas alien to the text is quite clear from the relevant portion of the text (lines 12–16, 20–21).

As pointed out by Kiruṣṇan, *matimāṉ* and *pañcaraṉ* are epithets and not component parts of a name. They convey the meanings "the wise" and "the repository". In this connection it may be noted that the word pañcara which forms part of the expression *saraṇāgata vajra pañcara*, "he who was a diamond cage to those who sought refuge", occurs in one of his inscriptions as an epithet of Vikramabāhu (1110–1132).[159]

## 6.11.13. *aivarkaṇṭaṉ, vanuvēri*

*aivarkaṇṭaṉ*, "the destroyer of the pañcavar", is significant as an epithet suggesting that the general concerned was associated with an expedition against the Pāṇṭiya in South India. It would seem that *vanuvēri* is a Tamiḻised form of a Sinhalese title or epithet.

The term ēri which forms the final part of the expression suggests that *vanuvēri* could be the Tamiḻ equivalent of *kalunnaru* the name of a tank built by Dhāṭusena. The plausibility of such an interpretation is suggested by the name Kaṭṭaṉēri, which occurs in the Vākalkaṭai inscription of the Nānādesis as the Tamiḻ form of the name Vākalkaṭai. If such an explanation is acceptable, the expression vanuvēri may be considered as one which refers to the lineage of the general Parākrama.

As seen earlier *alaṃkrutapuyaṉ* is also an epithet. The expressions *ilaṅkai atikāri* corresponding to the Pāli form *laṃkādhikārin* denoted a title of rank conferred by the king on some of the principal functionaries engaged in administrative tasks. The *phrases mēṇaic cenevinātaṉ tiruppiyaraṉ* may be explained as ones referring to "the grandson of the general of the lineage of Mēṉai". The expression teṉ parākramaṉ may be construed as the name or title by which the general concerned was generally known. The term teṉ prefixed as an adjective to the name Parakrama has beauty as one of its connotations. It is not a component of the name and it has been introduced into the text probably on account of poetic considerations.

Such an impression gains support from the fact that the college was named after him as *parākrama atikāri pirivuṉa*.

## 6.11.14. atikāri

In the light of these interpretations the passage quoted earlier could be translated in the following manner: "Teṉ Parākramaṉ, Lankathikārin, *vanuvēri*, the

[158] Kanapathipillai, "A Tamiḻ Inscription from Panduvasnuwara", p. 162
[159] *EZ 5*, p. 407.

destroyer of the five Pāṇṭiya, a repository of wisdom and strength whose arms were decorated with the insignia of rank, the grandson of the commander (of the lineage of) Mēṇai".

Thus the inscription records information about two dignitaries—senāpatis, one called Mēṇaic Cenevinātaṉ and the other known as Parākraman, the latter being a grandson of the former. There is no adequate description of Mēṇai. It is not possible to identify him with any of the dignitaries referred to in the literary and epigraphic documents relating to the Poloṉṉaṟuvai period. The grandson of the senāpati (of the lineage of) Mēṇai is described in considerable detail and in eulogistic terms because he was the founder of the monastic college referred to in the text. As he is described as *aivar kaṇṭaṉ* and *ilaṅkai atikāri,* it is clear that he was a dignitary wielding considerable influence and power within the kingdom, the title *laṃkādhikārin* being one that was reserved for the dignitaries of the foremost rank.

*atikāri* is derived from the skt *adhikārin,* which was the designation of some principal functionaries at the court and in the government of the kingdom. Some of those included in the king's council had this designation. The Cūḷavaṃsa mentions the names of many dignitaries who had this designation in the reign of Parākramabāhu. In its connotations adhikāri as found in the chronicle is similar to atikārikaḷ referred to in Cōḻa inscriptions. Ilaṅkai atikāri is the Tamiḻ equivalent of the Sanskrit form *laṃkādhikārin*, a designation of rank higher than that of adhikārin and obviously conferred by the ruler on some officers in consideration of meritorious services. Among the officers of Parākramabāhu Rakkha, Māyageha, Kitti, Saṅkhanāyaka, Bhūta and Mañju had this designation. Abonāvan and Budalnāvan, the two generals who raised Sāhasamalla to the throne, had the designation *laṃkādhikārin*. Evidently the general Parākrama was one of those functionaries who held a position of the highest rank in the administration of the kingdom.[160]

The expression *aivar kaṇṭaṉ*, as noticed earlier, is an epithet which suggests that the general Parākrama was associated with a campaign against the Pāṇṭiya in the reign of Niśśaṅkamalla. The inscriptions of Niśśaṃkamalla states that this expedition was led by the general Tāvarunāvan.[161] The epithet, *aivar kaṇṭaṉ,* conferred on Parākrama suggests that he was associated with Tāvarunāvan, perhaps in a subordinate capacity. Niśśaṃkamalla claims to have constructed the Pāṇḍi-vijayakulam(a) in order to commemorate the successful conclusion of the expedition.[162] Incidentally, the fact that the general Parākrama had an epithet signifying victory gained over the Pāṇṭiya confirms the identification of the king mentioned in the inscription as Niśśaṃkamalla.

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[160] Paranavitana, "Civilization of the Polonnaru Period…", pp. 488–495, 538, 540.
[161] *EZ 2*, pp. 151–152.
[162] Wickremasinghe, "Succesors…", pp. 521–522.

## 6.11.15. Lilāvatī

It would appear that the general Parākrama outlived Niśśaṃkamalla and attained for some time a position of great prominence in the kingdom during the early years of the 13th century. The *Cūḷavaṃsa* states that Lilāvatī (1197–1200 and 1209–1210) was raised to the throne on the third occasion by the general Parākrama.[163] He is described in highly complimentary and eulogistic terms in the introductory stanzas of the *Dāṭhavaṃsa* written by Dhammakitti under his patronage. The eulogy to the general in this text runs "Parakrama, an ornament to the race of Kalaka Nagara, a merciful commander of the army, a seeker of the welfare of the religion of the Buddha, having the prosperity of the people at heart, placed in royal power over Lanka, Queen Lilavati, who wished for the long endurance of the buddha's word, was grateful, endowed with valour and wisdom, possessed of a good memory and renowned like the Moon".[164]

It is possible that the general who established the *Parākrama Atikāri Pirivuṉa* at Śrīpura nakar was the one who raised Līlāvatī to the throne and patronized the author of the *Dāṭhavaṃsa*. The *Dāṭhavaṃsa sannē* gives the form Kalunnaru as the Sinhalese form of Kālanagara and the *Pūjavaliya* testifies that Kalunnaru was the name of one of the tanks constructed by Dhāṭusena (460–478, 455–473).[165] It would therefore appear that Kālanagara was the name of a locality and the expression *kālanagarānvaya*, "of the lineage of Kālanagara", was applied as the name of a family established at the locality of Kālanagara.

## 6.11.16. *mēṇai*, *cayittam* and *kōyil*

The words *mēṇai*, *cayittam* and *kōyil* found in the epigraph remain to be elucidated. Kaṇapatipiḷḷai has pointed out that *mēṇai* could be an abbreviated form of *mēṇavara* found in the texts of the 14th and 15th centuries.[166] The dignitary Senā Lankadhikāra, his descendants and some of the kings of Kampaḷai (Gampola) are said to have belonged to the *mēheṇavara* family. Commenting on the origins of this family Paranavitana says "The Meheṇavara family is nowhere mentioned before the Gampola period, and the story of its origin is an ingenious attempt to give a popularly acceptable explanation of the name which in reality is identical with Malayalam *mēṇavan* "baron" or "minister" and has the same significance as the Sinhalese Baṇḍāra".[167]

The word *mēṇai*, which is applied in the inscription as an expression qualifying Cenevinātan, may therefore be construed as signifying the name of the family to which the general Parākrama belonged in a social sense as distinct from a name derived through associations with a locality. If *mēṇai* is to be

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[163] Līlāvatī had three brief reigns: 1197–1200, 1209–1210 and 1211–1212.
[164] *The Dathavamsa…*, pp. 23–24.
[165] Liyanagamage, *The Decline….* pp. 65–66.
[166] Kanapathipillai, " A Tamiḷ Inscription...", *UCR* 18, p. 159
[167] Paranavitana, "Gampaḷa and Rayigama", p. 640.

considered as an abbreviated form of *mēṇavar*, Paranavitana's view about the antiquity of the lineage of *mēṇavar* in the island has to be revised. It would appear that the ancestry of the dignitaries who belonged to the *mēṇavar(a)* family could be traced from the Polonnaṟuvai period.

The word *caṵittam* is the Tamiḻ equivalent of the Pāli and Sinhalese forms *caitya* and *cētiya* respectively. Both expressions *caṵittam* and *cētiyam* are used as synonyms designating a Buddhist monastery as can be seen from the following examples:

1. *vāṉōṅku cimaiyattu vāloḷic caṵittam*, "the *cētīyam*, which resembles in brightness the *imayam* (Himālaya) reaching the skies in height".
2. *pōtip pakavark kiyaṟṟiya cētiyan toḻutu*, "having worshipped the *cētiyam*, which was established in honour of the great sage who attained enlightenment under the *pōti* (bodhi-tree)".

It was used over a long period of time as is evident from the *maṇimēkalai*.[168]

## 6.12. A Polonnaṟuvai Slab Inscription of the Vēḷaikkāṟar as Custodians of the Tooth Relic Temple at Vijayarājapuram

*Civacuppiramaṇiyam Patmanātaṉ*

### 6.12.1. Contents and Chronology

The Slab Inscription found in the vicinity of the Latāmaṇḍapa at Polonnaṟuvai was discovered by H C P Bell in 1903.[169] The text consists of 49 lines engraved on a neatly planed and ruled slab 8"2" by 2"6" in dimension. The text of the inscription, which is in a very good state of preservation, is engraved in Tamiḻ and Grantha characters and consists of two parts of uneven length. The first part is formulated in a Sanskrit verse while the second part consisting of three sentences runs to 44 lines. Probably, the two parts were drafted separately by each of the parties to the agreement recorded in the inscription and incorporated into the text before it was engraved on stone and copper plates. The inscription states that the Vēḷaikkāṟar caused the text to be engraved on stone and copper plate (lines 40 41). All characters in bold are in Grantha in the text found on the stone.

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[168] *maṇimēkalai*, u vē cāminataiyar, āṟām patippu 1965, pp. 338, 341

[169] Bell, *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon. Annual Report for 1903*, p. 11.

## 6.12.2. Text

***svasti śrīḥ Lankayām jina – danta – dhātu – bhavanaṃ yad-deva.***
***senādhipo – "kārṣīt śrī-vijayādibāhu nṛvarādeś [ā-]***
***t pulasteḥ pure. Vēḷaikkārāsamā [gatā] n tad-api ta***
***t paryyanta – devālayān vēḷai**kkāra-**balāni** pā***
***ntu nitaram ākalpa-sandher bhuvi. Namo buddhāya***
***śrī Lankadvīpattu sūrya-vaṃśattu īkṣvā**ku [vi]***
*n vaḻi vanta aneka śatrū vijayam paṇṇi anurā*
***dha**puram pukku **puttar sāsanam rakṣi**kka vēṇṭi **sa***
***mghaniyōga**ttāl tirumuṭi cūṭi arumaṇattil ni***
*ṉṟum caṅkattārai aḷaippittu mūṉṟu nikāya*
*ttu **saṃghasuddhi** paṇṇuvittu mūṉṟu tulā**bhā**ram*
*mūṉṟu nikāyattukku kuṭuttu **dasarāja dharmma**ttāl*
*aimpattay yāṇṭu ilaṅkai muḻutum orukuṭai niḻa*
*ṟṟit tiruvir**āj**yañ ceytaruḷi eḻupattu mūvāṇṭu tiruna*
***kṣatrañ** celuttina kō **śrī saṃghabōdhi** van**m**arāṉa **cakravartti***
*kaḷ śrī vi**ja**ya**bāhu de**var nuvarakaḷ deva cēnavirattar*
*kku niyōkittu pulanariyāṉa vi**ja**yarāja purattu eṭup*
*pitta mūla**sthā**namākiya a**bha**ya**gi**ri**mahā**vi**hā**rattu **agrā***
*yataṉamāna uttoruḷmūḷaiyil mūvulakukkum cikāmaṇi*
*yākiya **daḷadā-pātra dhātu svāmi** tēvarkaḷukku **nitya vāsabhavana***
*māna **prathamābhiṣē**kattukku maṅgaḷa **grha**māna āṭṭāṇṭu*
*tōṟun tirunayana**mōkṣam** paṇṇi añcana niṟukkum*
*kaṇṇālañ ceyyum **maṅgaḷa mahā silāmaya puttar***
***de**varkku **gandhakuṭi**yāna **daḷadā**yp-perumpaḷḷi uṅka*
*ḷ rakṣaiyāka vēṇṭumeṉṟu **sakala śāstrāgama sīlā***
***cāra sampa**nnarāna **rājaguru** uturuḷamūḷaiyil **vyā**riṇi mu*
***ga**lan **mahāstha**virar **rājāmātya**rōṭuṅ kūṭa eḻuntaruḷiyi*
*runtu eṅkaḷai aḻaittu aruḷic ceytamaiyil mātantirat*
*tōṅ kūṭi eṅkaḷukku mūtātaikaḷāy uḷḷa vaḷañceyaraiyum*
*eṅkaḷōṭu kūṭivarum nakarattāruḷḷṭṭāraiyum kūṭṭi mūṉṟu*
*kait tiruvēlaikkāran **daḷadā**yp perumpaḷḷiyeṉṟu*
*tirunāmañ cātti eṅkaḷaramāy eṅkaḷ kāvalāy niṟka*
*vēṇṭumeṉṟu aṟaṅkāvalukku paṭaip paṭaiyāl orō*
*cēvakaraiyum orō vēli nilamum iṭṭuk kuṭuttu ip*
*paḷḷi nōkkiṉa urkaḷum parivāramum paṇṭāramum **abha***
*yam pukkāraiyum paṭṭum keṭṭum kākkak kaṭavōmāka*
*vum aḻivu paṭṭaṭaṅkaḷ—aḻivu cōrntum eṅkaḷ anva*
*yamuḷḷatanaiyumeññāṉṟum itukku vēṇṭuvaṉa – ve*
*llāñ ceyvōmākavum. Paṇṇiṉa inta **vyavasthai candrā***
***dityavarai** niṟpatākak kaiyvinā vēṟṟic cempilum kalli*
*lum veṭṭuvittuk kuṭuttōm valaṅkai iṭaṅkai ci*
*ṟutanam piḷḷaikaḷtanam vaṭukar malaiyāḷar parivārak*
*kontam palakalaṉaiyum uḷḷiṭṭa tiruvēḷaikkāṟa*

*rōm. ippaṭi tiṟampuvānum tiṟampac colluvāṉu*
*m tiṟampac cammatippānum mātantirattukkup piḷaitta*
*paṭaippakaiñaṉ* ***pañcamahā*** *pātakañ ceytāṉum tēvar*

## 6.12.3. Translation

"Hail Prosperity. The Tooth Relic temple constructed at Pulastipura, by Deva, the *senāpati*, on the order of king Śrī Vijayabāhu, and the temples in its neighbourhood shall be protected by the combined army of the *veḷaikkāra* forces, till the end of this world at the junction of the *kalpas*. Worship to the puttar.

The king Saṃghabodhivarmar otherwise called *cakravarttikaḷ* Vijayabāhudevar, who was born in the lineage of Īkṣvāku of the solar dynasty in the resplendent isle of Lanka, subdued many enemies, entered Anurādhapuram and went through the ceremony of coronation with the blessings of the *saṃgha* for the sake of protecting the *buddhasāsana*.

He lived for 73 years and reigned for 55 years in accordance with the ten principles of regal duty after bringing the whole of Lanka under the single canopy of his dominion. He invited monks from Arumaṇam and effected a purification of the communities of monks of the three *nikāyas*, conducted three *tulābhāra* ceremonies and distributed valuables (equal to his weight) among the monks of the three *nikāyas*.

[17] He caused the Abhayagiri mahāvihāram to be constructed at Pulanari otherwise called Vijayarājapuram by appointing for that purpose Nuvarakaḷ Deva, a commander of the army. Uttoruḷmūḷai is the principal monastery of the Abhayagiri mahāvihāram. Attached to it is the Daḷadāypperumpaḷḷi [lines 18–20], the permanent repository of the divine lords, the tooth and alms bowl relics which are like unto the crest jewels of the three worlds. It is also the image house for the beneficent colossal stone image of *buddhamahādevar* where the annual festival of applying paint (or collyrium) is performed and bliss is conferred at sight.

The *mahāsthavira vyāriṇi* Mugalan, the royal preceptor, well versed in all religious doctrines and branches of learning, of exemplary conduct and behavior, invited us while he was seated at Uttoruḷmūḷai in the presence of the king's ministers and said: "The great temple of the Tooth relic should be under your protection".

Thereupon, we the members of the great army assembled together, and having invited for the meeting the *vaḷañceyar*, who are our patrons, and also the *nakarattār* and others who always accompany us, invested the temple of the tooth relic with the illustrious name *mūṉṟukait tiruvēḷaikkāṟan daḷadāyp perumpaḷḷi* and resolved that it should be under our protection and maintenance, and for the purpose of this meritorious duty we undertake the responsibility of assigning one serviceman and one *vēli* of land from each unit of the army, to protect the villages attached to this shrine, its employees and treasures as well as those who seek refuge therein, even in the event of death and destruction

caused to us, to replace the loss to the personnel and property thus assigned and to do everything required for this purpose at all times and as long as our lineage endures.

In order that this undertaking shall continue as long as the Moon and the Sun endure, we the illustrious Vēḷaikkāṟar of many categories including the *valaṅkai*, *iṭaṅkai*, *ciṟutanam*, *piḷḷaikaḷtanam*, *vaṭukar*, *malayāḷar* and *parivārakkontam* attested this document with our own hands, and have caused it to be engraved on copper and stone.

Any one who violates this arrangement or persuades others to do so, a person who had become the enemy of the army and had betrayed the *mātantiram*, one who has committed heinous sins, the ruthless sinner who robs the offerings to the *tēvar*, *pūtar* and ascetics and the one who commits sacrilege against the triple gem: the buddha, dharmma and saṁgha'shall enter ten hells. Forget not charity. Hail prosperity."

## 6.12.4. The Inscription

A translation of the text of this inscription by Kailācapiḷḷai was published in H C P Bell, Annual Report of the Archaelogical Survey of Ceylon for 1903. A complete text and an inspired translation with explanatory notes prepared by Kiruṣṇa Cāttiri was published in the Annual Report of the Archaelogical Survey of Ceylon for 1911–1912. Deciphered by Kiruṣṇa Cāttiri, it was published in South Indian Inscription 4 (no 1396, p. 492). The text deciphered by Kiruṣṇa Cāttiri was the basis for the editions of the inscription by D M De Z Wickremasinghe and Senerat Paranavitana in *EZ* 2, pp. 242–255.[170] In the present volume the text is based on a comaparitive study of the one deciphered and published by Kiruṣṇa Cāttiri and an estampage of the inscription prepared by a team of Japanese, Indian and Sri lankan scholars led by Noburu Karashima in 1997. The author also inspected the inscribed stone at its location and the photographic copy of the estampage prepared recently.

The Tamiḻ portion contains a large proportion of Sanskrit words and expressions and some of the Tamiḻ terms found in it are now obsolete and for that reason they cannot be explained easily. In addition, the stringing together of many obsolete and adjectival forms in long descriptions has tended to obscure the meaning of some portions of the text. This epigraph which has gone through two editions more than sixty years ago requires re-examination in the light of ideas and knowledge accumulated in recent times.

As a source of historical information, this inscription, which records an agreement between an army of the Vēḷaikkāṟar and Mugalan mahāsthavira of the Uttoruḷmūḷai(monastery) affiliated to the Abhayagiri Nikāya, is of unusual significance. Both forms, *uttoruḷmūḷai* and *uturuḷmūlai*, are found in the text. They are reminiscent of *uttaromūla* and *uturuḷmūla* which are respectively the Pāli and Sinhala forms of the name.

[170] See also Paranavitana, "Polonnaruva Inscription of Vijaybāhu I", pp. 330–338.

The inscription provides authentic information about Vijayabāhu and some developments in his reign. It also contains vital information on some aspects of Buddhism on the island during the 12th century and much of this information is not found elsewhere. Besides, it is unique among epigraphical documents recording the activities of the military community of the Vēḷaikkāṟar. No other epigraph gives such vital information about the character, composition and affiliations of the army of the Vēḷaikkāṟar.

In order to focus attention on the significance of its contents, the chronology of the inscription has to be precisely determined. It is not dated in the regnal year of any king. Nevertheless, its contents provide a clear indication of the fact that it was set up after the reign of Vijayabāhu I (1055–1110). Vijayabāhu is described as one who had a reign of 55 years and a life span of 73 years. Of particular significance in this respect are the expressions *eḷupattu-mūvāṇṭu tirunakṣattirañ celluttiṉa* which translate as "Who has passed seventy-three years in the star of his nativity". Vikramasiṅha and Paranavitana have construed these expressions as implying that the king had celebrated seventy-three birthdays. But the text does not lend itself to such an interpretation. The expressions *eḻupattumūvāṇṭu tirunakṣattirañ celuttina* could only mean that he had passed seventy-three years in the star of his nativity. In other words he had lived for a period of seventy-three years. There is no indication at all of celebrations to mark the anniversary of the event.

These are idiomatic expressions indicating that Viayabāhu had a life span of 73 years and as his life and reign are described in the inscription as matters of the past, it is clear that this epigraph was set up after the reign of Vijayabāhu I. It is appropriate to consider here the observations of Se. Paranavitana who says "No date is given in this inscription, but it mentions king Vijayabāhu I, and states that he reigned for 55 years and celebrated his 73rd birthday festival. According to the *Mahāvaṃsa*, the duration of his reign was only 55 years. Therefore, it is evident that this record was inscribed after his death".[171] Yet Paranavitana is inconsistent in describing the epigraph as the "Polonnaruva Inscription of Vijayabāhu". Such a description is misleading and amounts to a contradiction of his previously sound and pertinent observations.

## 6.12.5. Earlier Interpretations

D M D Z Wickremasinghe clearly recognized that this inscription was set up after the reign of Vijayabāhu, and was of the opinion that it could be assigned to a period twenty or thirty years later. He says "…this inscription should be placed in the reign either of Vikkam-Bāhu II (1116[sic]–1137 AD.:[sic]) or of his son Gaja-Bāhu II (1137[sic]–1153), about twenty to thirty years after the death of Vijayabāhu I in 1114 [sic]."[172]

The untenability of the view that the epigraph has to be assigned to a period

[171] Ibid., p. 331.
[172] Wickremasinghe, "Polonnaruwa Slab Inscription of the Vēḷaikkāṟas", p. 248.

of two to three decades later than the reign of Vijayabāhu I is convincingly demonstrated by Lesli Guṇavardhana (Gunawardana), who observed that when dating the inscription Vikramasiṅha (Wickramasinghe) was partly guided by his identification of the Mugalan of this inscription with Moggallāna, the lexicographer who lived in the time of Parākramabāhu I.[173] There are, however, several difficulties which preclude such an identification, according to Guṇavardhana.

1. The *Cūḷavaṃsa* states in precise terms that it was Vikramabāhu who confiscated the wealth of the shrine of the Tooth Relic. Hence the record has to be assigned to a period prior to that event; there is no basis for dating it to the reign of Gajabāhu II.[174]

2. It appears unlikely that Vikramabāhu, considering his grievance against the *saṃgha*, would have waited till the end of his twenty-one year-long reign to take measures against the monasteries.[175]

3. If the record dates from so late a period, it would be very strange for it to speak of the reign of Viayabāhu I in great detail and yet make no mention at all of Vikramabāhu. Certain facts in the inscription also support this view. The Vēḷaikkāṟar army, which bound itself to protect the property of the shrine, was in all probability loyal to the king. It is also stated that the Vēḷaikkāṟar were summoned by Mahāsthavira Mugalan who was in the company of the king's ministers. It is very unlikely that the Vēḷaikkāṟar would have entered into such an agreement if it was the king who intended to appropriate the wealth of the shrine. Even if they had done so, it is even more improbable that the king's ministers would have taken part in the deliberations which led to this agreement and would have stated so in a public document.[176]

4. If the army and the ministers were opposed to the idea of confiscating monastic property, it is unlikely that Vikramabāhu would have succeeded in his attempt as he in fact did. Considering that only Vijayabāhu is referred to in this record, it appears that it probably belonged to the period between the death of Vijayabāhu and the accession of Vikramabāhu.[177]

On account of these considerations the inscription could be assigned to the period 1110–1111 AD. Besides, as seen earlier, such a conclusion precludes the possibility of *vyāriṇi* Mugalan of Uttoruḷmūḷai being the same as Moggallāna, the contemporary of Parākramabāhu I.

### 6.12.6. Vijayabāhu I and the Abhayagiri Mahāvihāra

The epigraph contains an account of Vijayabāhu I because he was responsible for the establishment of the Abhayagiri mahāvihāra and the institutions affili-

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[173] Gunawardana, *Robe…*, p. 90.
[174] Loc.cit.
[175] Loc.cit.
[176] Loc.cit.
[177] Ibid., pp. 90–91.

ated to it at Poloṉṉaṟuvai. He is said to have come from the lineage of Īkṣvāku of the solar dynasty, subdued many enemies, entered Anurādhapura and gone through the ceremony of coronation with the blessings of the community of monks, and held the whole of Lanka under the canopy of his dominion in accordance with the tenfold royal duties mentioned in lines 6–12 of the text. Besides as seen earlier, it is also stated that his reign lasted fifty-five years and that he lived for seventy-three years. All this information about the king is corroborated by the *Cūḷavaṃsa* and other sources. Morever, it is said that Vijayabāhu brought monks from Arumaṇam and effected a purification of the fraternities affiliated to the three *nikāya*s. *arumaṇam* is the Tamiḻ form of the name of the kingdom in Burma which is described in Pāli texts as *rāmaññ desa*.[178] In the account of the expedition aginst Alaungsithu in Burma found in the *Cūḷavaṃsa*, his Kingdom is referred to as *ramaññ*.[179] The Devanagala inscription of Parākramabāhu I contains the form *aramaṇa*, which is close to the Tamiḻ form *arumaṇam*.

The information found in this text that Vijayabāhu ascended the scale-pans on three occasions and distributed valuables equivalent to his weight among the three *nikāya*s is not recorded in any other source.

Paranavitana and Wickremasinhe who edited this inscription do not appear to have taken into consideration the significance of some expressions pertaining to the Abhayagiri mahāvihāram. An inadequacy in comprehension on their part has resulted in a misunderstanding and misinterpretation of some vital information regarding that institution.

In the introduction to his edition of this inscription Wickramasinghe says "… Nuvarkal-Deva-Senevirattar built the great temple of the Tooth-Relic in Vijayarajapuram, otherwise called Pulanari, as a permanent repository for the Tooth and Bowl relics of the puttar which were originally at Uttoruḷu-mūḷa, the chief fane of the Abhayagiri Mahāvihāra…."[180] This passage does not convey correctly the meaning of the relevant portion of the text. In fact it has the effect of distorting a part of it. It is true that the king's general was responsible for the construction of the temple of the Tooth Relic, but what is significant is that it was not the only monument that was constructed under his supervision. The final portion of the passage conveys an idea which is alien to the text. In asserting "…as a permanent repository for the Tooth relic and the Bowl relics of the puttar which were originally at Uttoruḷ-mūḷa", Wickremasinghe is expressing an opinion based on a false understanding of the text. In the text the word *mūlasthānam* occurs as an expression qualifying the Abhayagiri vihāram and not its principal monastery of Uttoruḷmūḷai. The fact that he describes that monastery as the original depository of the relics suggests that

[178] Nicholas, "The Reign of Parākrambāhu I", p. 473. Paranavitana, "Civilisation of the Polonnaru Period", pp. 563–564. Cv 58: 8, 76:10–11.
[179] The Sinhala equivalent of *arumaṇam* is *aramaṇa*. Paranavitana, "Devanagala Rock-Inscription of Parākramabāhu I, p. 322.
[180] Wickremasinghe, "*Polonnaruwa Slab Inscription of the Vēḷaikkaṟas*", p. 246.

he believed that the Uttoruḷmūḷai referred to in the inscription was still in Anurādhapura. That such a belief is based on a serious misunderstanding will be seen later.

Paranavitana, however, considers that the Uttoruḷmūḷai was at Poloṉṉaṟuvai. Yet, he also failed to recognize that the inscription refers to the construction of other monuments besides the temple of the Tooth Relic, as is evident from his translation of the relevant portion, which runs "...gave orders to Nuvaragal Dēvasenavirattar, and caused to be built within (the precincts of) Uttoroḷmūla, which was the principal shrine of the great monastery of Abhayagiri the Mūlasthāna (i. e. important seat of monks) in the city of Pulanari alias Vijayarājapura, the great temple of the Tooth Relic…"[181]

Paranavitana recognizes that the word *mūlasthānam* qualifies the Abhayagiri *mahāvikāram* but his explanation of it is inadequate. Besides, his description of the Uttoruḷmūḷai as "the principal shrine" is unacceptable. The expression *agrāyatanam* does not convey this meaning.

In order to clear the misunderstandings arising from these misrepresentations and appreciate the true significance of the contents of the text, the relevant portion may be considered as follows: The temple of the Tooth Relic otherwise called Gandhakuṭi at Uttoruḷmūḷai, which was the principal monastery of Abhayagiri *mahāvikāram*, and which was the *mūlasthānam* established at Vijayarājapuram by his Majesty Vijayabāhu dēvar, who had appointed Nuvarakal *cenāviruttar* for that purpose…

It is interesting to find that three institutions—the Abhayagiri mahāvihāram, Uttoruḷmūḷai and the Daḷadāypperumpaḷḷi—are described here. It is clear from the manner of their description that all of them were inter-connected. The Daḷadāypperumpaḷḷi is otherwise said to be called Gandhakuṭi attached to Uttoruḷmūḷai, described as the premier monastery *(agrāyatanam)* of the Abhayagiri mahāvihāra, which was the *mūlasthānam*.

The expression *mūlasthānam* is formed by combining the words *mūla* and *sthānam*. The first of these has the following connotations: "root", "basis", "foundation", "seat", "home" and "abode".[182] *Sthānam* means a "site" or "locality". Thus, there appears to be considerable difficulty in defining *mūlasthānam* referred to in the inscription with the aid of lexicography. The definition has to be formulated on the basis of imaginative understanding. In the Caiva and Vaiṇava traditions the innermost sanctum of the temple is referred to as *mūlastāṉam*. But in the epigraph under consideration the expression is used in an altogether different sense. It is not applied as the designation of the component part of an architectural monument. On the contrary, it seems to designate a whole complex of institutions of which the *Uttoruḷmūḷai* was a component part. In the light of this explanation the Abhayagiri mahāvihāra referred to here may be construed as designating the whole complex of buildings affiliated to the *nikāya* of that name.

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[181] Paranavitana, "Polonnaruva Inscription of Vijaybahu I", p. 338.
[182] *SED*, p. 826.

The impression of scholars hitherto commenting on the contents of this inscription that it refers to the construction of only the temple of the Tooth Relic is formed on the basis of a false understanding of the relevant portion of the text. There is of course a variation in the Sanskrit and Tamiḻ portions of the text as regards the construction of the buildings at Poloṉṉaṟuvai by Vijayabāhu, but it does not amount to a contradiction or even inconsistency. The Sanskrit portion states that the temple of the Tooth Relic *(dantadhātu bhavanam)* was constructed at Pulastipura by Sēnāpati Deva, whereas the Tamiḻ portion specifically states that the Abhayagiri Vihāram, which was the *mūlasthānam* of which *Uttoruḷmūḷai* was the principal monastery, was constructed by Vijayabāhu through the instrumentality of Senāpati Deva. The expressions

> *vijayarājapurattu eṭuppitta mūlasthānamākiya abhayagiri mahavihārattu….*
> "…of the Abhayagiri mahāvihāram, the *mūlasthānam*, established at Vijayarājapuram…"

do not lend themselves to any other interpretation. They presuppose that a whole complex of buildings associated with the Abhayagiri vihāram was established at Poloṉṉaṟuvai under Vijayabāhu. The monastery of *Uttoruḷmūḷai* and the temple of the Tooth Relic were component units of this complex. Such a conclusion presupposes that the monasteries established at Poloṉṉaṟuvai became the principal residences of the monastic orders affiliated to the Abhayagiri *nikāya*.

The impression that monastic establishments of the Abhayagiri mahāvihāram were established at Poloṉṉaṟuvai is confirmed by the *Cūḷavaṃsa*, which says

"Within Pulatthinagara he had many charming vihāras built at different places, made bhikkus who belonged to the three fraternities take up their abode there and gladdened them by abundant (gifts of the) four necessaries".[183]

It would thus appear that the principal monastic centres of the three *nikāyas* were transferred to Poloṉṉaṟuvai during the reign of Vijayabāhu.

## 6.12.7. The Temple of the Tooth Relic and Uttoruḷmūḷai

The temple of the Tooth Relic attached to the monastery of the Uttoruḷmūḷai fraternity of monks had a dual character. As well as being the repository of the Tooth and Alms Bowl relics, it also served as an image house. A large stone image of the puttar installed there was an object of veneration and worship. It was the venue for the principal ceremony of consecration *(prathama abhiṣekam)*, the precise nature of which is not clear. That a special annual

[183] Cv (T), 60:9–10

festival was conducted at the Tooth Relic Temple in honour of a large stone image is clear from the following description:

"The Dalādāypperumpaḷḷi, the image house *(gandhakuṭi)* which is the auspicious abode for the large and beneficent image of *puttatēvar*, in whose honour the annual festival of applying 'collyrium' is conducted after the opening of the eyes".[184]

Richard Gombrich is wrong in claiming that the rite is the exclusive property of Sinhalese Buddhism.[185] It has its parallel in *nayaṇa-unmīlaṇam*, "the releasing of the eyes" of the Hindu tradition. It is significant that in both traditions the rite is performed by the artisans who produce the image. The variations in the details are, among other things, due to the requirements of the two respective traditions. The essential difference between *nētra pinkama*, "meritorious action through (painting of) the eye", and *nayaṇa unmīlanam* lies in the fact that the latter is a preliminary rite followed by a consecration of the image performed by brāḥmaṇas before and after installation.

The usual meanings attached to *nayaṇamōkṣam*, "opening of the eyes", and *añcananiṟukkum*, "applying or fixing collyrium", suggest that the text of the inscription refers to rites similar to those of a *nētra pinkama* of present-day Sinhala Buddhist tradition.[186] But there is a serious difficulty in identifying the rites referred to in the epigraph as events associated with a *nētra pinkama*. The rite of *nētra pinkama* is performed on the occasion of the formal installation of images at newly constructed or renovated shrines. The images are deemed to be invested with sanctity after the performance of this rite and thereafter they become objects of veneration and worship. The ceremony symbolizes the formal inauguration of the shrine as a place suitable for conducting worship. There is no record of a *nētra pinkama* being held as an annual event in any shrine.

The inscription with which we are concerned does not record events connected with a ceremony of inauguration or even the installation of an image. *Nayanamōkṣam* and *añcananiṟukkum* ceremonies are mentioned as events in an annual festival. It seems to record information about an annual festival of an unusual kind conducted at the Tooth Relic Temple during the 12th century. The assumption that the principal rites of a *nētra pinkama* could have been incorporated as events in an annual festival poses serious conceptual problems. Such an explanation would amount to a rejection of traditional notions associated with investiture of sanctity and inauguration in respect of images. It would also mean that the image lost its sanctity within a short time even though it remained on its pedestal within the shrine. It would appear that the rites described here did not have the significance of a *nētra pinkama*. Besides, words and expressions could have different meanings in different contexts. The word *añcaṇam* as defined by lexicographers denotes a paint, black in

[184] SII 4, p. 492.
[185] Gombrich, "The Consecration of a Buddhist Image", p. 27.
[186] Coomaraswamy, *Medieval Sinhalese Art*, pp. 70–75.

colour and applied to the eye-lids.[187] So the word *añcanam* found in the epigraph could have been used in connection with the painting of the eyelids of the image of puttar and not with the fixing of a precious substance, collyrium, on to the eyes.

The expression *nayaṉamōkṣam* is a compound of two words, *nayaṉam*, "eye", and *mōkṣam* meaning "bliss" or "release". In a literal sense the compound expression could mean "the releasing of the eye", while in an idiomatic sense it means "bliss at sight". In an elucidation of *nayaṉamōkṣam,* one has to take into account the fact that this expression is applied in connection with a festival in honour of an *abhiṣeka* puttar installed at a shrine attached to a monastic order which had associations with the Mahāyāna. Possibly, the image of the puttar was exhibited for public view on the occasion of the annual festival, and the puttar whose presence it symbolized was believed to have the power of conferring the bliss of "release" on the devotees who had a view of the image.

The description of the Tooth and Alms Bowl relics as *mūvulakukkum cikāmaṇi*, "the crest-jewel of the three worlds" and *svāmi tēvarkaḷ*, "honorable lord," may be of some significance. Such a description suggests that they were personified and deified. The words *svāmi* and *tēvar* were used as honorifics and applied to princes, religious dignitaries and deities. They were never used in connection with impersonal and inanimate objects. The use of such terms in descriptions of the relics presupposes that they were objects of reverence, veneration and worship and that they had become cult objects with which supernatural powers were associated.

The temple of the Tooth Relic was at Uttoruḷmūḷai as indicated by the expressions *uttoruḷmūḷaiiyil…gandhakuṭi*, "the gandhakuṭi .... at Uttoruḷmūḷai".[188] The shrine described in the inscription may be identified with the monument described nowadays as Vihāra no 2 at the "Quadrangle to the North of the Citadel" at Poloṉṉaṟuvai as suggested by R A L H Gunawardana.[189] The brick-built structure which had a *garbhagṛha* and a vestibule as its main components occupies an area of seventy-five feet by forty-five feet. Structurally it exhibits the characteristics of an image house and on stylistic considerations it can be assigned to the reign of Vijayabāhu. The expression *daḷadā* found with masonry marks on the building is an important and decisive consideration regarding its identification.[190]

Uttoruḷmūḷai affiliated to the Abhayagiri mahāvihāra was one of the largest and most influential monastic orders. A tradition recorded in the *Cūḷa*vaṃsa account of Vijayabhāhu traces its origin from the days of Mānavamma (684–718) and claims that the Tooth Relic was placed in its custody from its inception.[191] Even as late as in the reign of Parākramabāhu IV the Tooth Relic was

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[187] Winslow, *A Comprehensive…*, p. 10.
[188] Gunawardana, *Robe...*, p. 288.
[189] Loc.cit.
[190] Ibid., 289.
[191] Cv(T), 61:54–61.

in the custody of this order as is attested by the *Daḷadā Sirita*, a text written in his reign. According to this text the chief incumbent of the *uturuḷmūla āyatan* performed a vital role in the proceedings relating to the exhibition of the relic and the performance of rituals connected with it.[192] This text also provides a reliable basis for a proper understanding of some of the contents of the inscription under consideration.

The Uttoruḷmūḷai is said to be the *agrāyatanam* of the Abhayagiri mahāvihāram established at Poloṉṉaṟuvai. *agrāyatanam* may be defined in the light of the reference to the chief incumbent of the *uturuḷmūla āyatan* in the *Daḷadā sirita*. The word *āyatan* which is the Sinhalese equivalent of the Sanskrit word *āyatana* apparently designates a monastery, the seat of a monastic order. The *agrāyatanam* may therefore be defined as "the principal monastery" as seen earlier. Thus Uttoruḷmūḷai referred to in the epigraph was evidently the principal monastery affiliated to the Abhayagiri mahāvihāra. The Slab Inscription records the information that *vyāriṇi* Mugalan was the chief incumbent, the *mahāsthavira* of this monastery. The Pāli equivalent of the Sīhala name Mugalan is Moggallāna and four monks of that name are known to have lived in the reign of Parākramabāhu. The details pertaining to them found in literary records can be formulated in the following order.[193]

Moggallāna Mahāthera, author of the Pāli grammar *Moggallāna Vyākaraṇa* with its *vutti* and *pañcika*. He is supposed to have participated in the proceedings concerning the purification and unification of the *saṃgha* in the 14th year of Parākramabāhu I (1153–1186).

Moggallāna, the author of *Vinayganṭhipadam*.

Moggallāna of the Sarogama or Vilgammūla order living at the Jetavanavihāra, who compiled the treatise called *Abhidānappadīpikā* under the king's patronage.

Moggallāna, who attended the assembly of monks who effected the purification, from Dakkhiṇadesa.

Wickremasinghe is inclined to identify *vyāriṇi* Mugalan with the author of the *Moggallāna Vyākaraṇa*. He says "Of these we are inclined to identify No 1 with the Rājaguru Mugalan Mahāsthavira of our record, for both were grammarians and profoundly learned. At one time, we are told, they lived in Anurādhapura, one in the Uturuḷumūla monastery of the Abhayagiri and the other in the Thūpārāma, probably then allied to the Abhayagiriya fraternity. Further, Moggallāna No 1 seems to have been at the time of the synod an elderly dignitary well versed in the *Vinaya* or he could not have been an assistant to Mahākassapa, the President. He most probably wrote the Pāli grammar at Anurādhapura before he came to Polonnaruva. Let us then suppose that our Moggallāna was one of those young samaneras whom Vijayabāhu patronized during the last days of his reign. He may not have been more than thirty-five years old when Vikramabāhu I died in 1137, and may have by that time already

[192] Wickremasinghe, "Polonnaruwa Slab Inscription…", p. 251.
[193] Ibid., pp. 248–249.

become an author. So, when Parākramabāhu I held the Buddhist council twenty-eight years later in 1165, Moggallāna might have been a venerable monk of high repute. It was, therefore, not surprising that he was elected to assist Mahā Kassapa who was perhaps slightly his senior." ----We can go a step further and identify this personage with the Moggallāna (No 4) who attended the council from the Yuvaraja's country.[194]

It is most regrettable that all the arguments adduced by Wickremasinghe are based on surmises and conjectures and not on empirical evidence. His views are governed by two fundamental misconceptions: one is that the Uttoruḷmūḷai referred to in the epigraph was at Anurādhapura, and the other is that the epigraph was set up about two or three decades subsequent to the reign of Vijayabāhu. It has been shown earlier that the Uttoruḷmūḷai referred to in the epigraph was at Polonnaṟuvai. As there are strong grounds to believe that the inscription was set up before the accession of Vikramabāhu, the identity of *vyāriṇi* Mugalan with Moggallāna of the reign of Parākramabāhu becomes untenable. As the inscription can be assigned to 1110–1111 AD, it would appear that there is a gap of approximately 55 years between the time of *vyāriṇi* Mugalan and Moggallāna of the time of Parākramabāhu, who is said to have compiled the *Moggallāna Vyākaraṇa*. As *vyāriṇi* Mugalan is described as a *mahāsthavira* in the inscription, he must have been of fairly advanced age and it is most improbable that someone who was a *mahāthera* around 1111 continued to hold that position for a further period of 55 years. In the circumstances, it has to be assumed that *vyāriṇi* Mugalan and Moggallāna, the author of the grammatical treatise, belonged to two different generations. The fact that two *mahātheras* had the same name does not preclude the possibility of both being distinguished grammarians.

Besides, it is also significant that the epithet *vyāriṇi* belonged to Mugalan and not to Moggallāna, the contemporary of Parākramabāhu. As *vyāriṇi* Mugalan is described as *rājaguru*, it may be assumed that he was a royal preceptor under Vijayabāhu I. Thus we have in this epigraph some information about a most accomplished and influential hierarch of the Uttoruḷmūḷai about whom nothing is known from other sources. Possibly, he was a party to the decision relating to the arrangements made on the death of Vijayabāhu I which overlooked the claims to the throne of his son Vikramabāhu I.

### 6.12.8. The Army of the Vēḷaikkāṟar at Polonnaṟuvai

The present inscription, especially lines 24–31, is of particular significance as it records vital information of an unusual character about the composition, organization and affiliations of the army of *vēḷaikkāṟar*. It was set up to proclaim the custodianship of the Temple of the Tooth Relic vested with the army

[194] Loc.cit.

of the Vēḷaikkāṟar by the *mahāsthavira* Mugalan and some ministers of the king in pursuance of an agreement between both parties.

The following are the principal considerations arising from the examination of the lines 24-39: 1. The Vēḷaikkāṟar became the custodians of the temple of the Tooth Relic by appointment; 2. they undertook responsibility for its maintenance and protection; and 3. they closely interacted with the *vaḷañceyar* and the *nakarattār*.

The epigraph states that the Vēḷaikkāṟar were invited to the presence of *vyāriṇi* Mugalan and appointed as the custodians of the Temple of the Tooth Relic by a party led by him. Such an unprecedented step presupposes that it was done under unusual circumstances. Traditionally, the king was the custodian of such venerated objects as the relics of the puttar. It would appear that in this instance the ruler was not expected to discharge that responsibility. *Vyāriṇi* Mugalan and the king's ministers seem to have anticipated hostile action on the part of the ruler and were anxious about the security of the temple and its properties. That such circumstances prevailed at Poloṉṉaṟuvai for some time after the reign of Vijayabāhu is clear from the *Cūḷa*vaṃsa which says that king Vikramabāhu took the maintenance villages which belonged to the puttar and gave them to his attendants. In Pulatthinagara (Poloṉṉaṟuvai) Vikramabāhu made over several vihāras distinguished by (the possession of) relics, to foreign soldiers to live in. Precious stones, pearls and the like, presented by the pious as offerings to the relic of the Alms Bowl and to the Tooth Relic, the sandal wood, the aloes, the camphor, the many images of gold and the like which he took forcibly, he used as it pleased him, the *Cūḷavaṃsa* says.[195] It is thus clear that the anxieties *vyāriṇi* Mugalan and others had about the disposition of Vikramabāhu were justified and, also, that the arrangements they made for the maintenance and security of the Temple of the Tooth Relic proved to be futile.

In the text of the epigraph the Vēḷaikkāṟar describe themselves as *makātantirattōm* and *tiru vēḷaikkāṟarōm* in the first person plural. These expressions translate as "we, the members of the *makātantiram*" and "we the illustrious *vēḷaikkāṟar*" respectively. The precise sense in which the word *makātantiram* was applied has to be determined on the basis of the contents of the text. On the basis of a reference to *Mahātantra*, a text of Kāśmīri Caivam, Wickremasinghe believed that the Vēḷaikkāṟar were Caivar. He says that at the time of our record the Vēḷaikkāṟar were adherents of the *Mahātantra* which was not a Buddhist sect, but a form of Caiva *darśanā*.[196] He did not, however, take into consideration the fact that as a lexical item *mahātantra* has a wide variety of meanings. A plausible objection to his explanation is the fact that, generally, military communities are not named after religious texts. Such a practice was sometimes adopted but only by religious orders.

*Makātantiram* is understood by Paranavitana in an altogether different

[195] CV(T), 61: 54–61.
[196] Wickremasinghe, "Polonnaruwa Slab Inscription…", p. 251.

sense. He says that it seems from our inscription as if the three divisions or "hands" into which the Vēḷaikkāṟar were divided consisted of the *makātantiram*, the *vaḷañceyar* and the *nagarattār*. Of these terms, *makātantra* is not found elsewhere and its sense is not clear. Probably it was used here with a Buddhist significance according to Paranavitana.[197] Such an explanation is untenable, and as will be seen later is based on fundamental misconceptions.

In the opinion of Nīlakaṇṭa Cāttiri, *makātantiram* has a military significance and probably denoted a school of militarism in South India.[198] The expression, of course, had a military significance but one cannot accept the view that it denoted a school of militarism. The explanations of the word given by all these scholars would appear to be wrong, and in coming to hasty conclusions without taking into consideration epigraphic and literary references to the word they have made mistakes. *Makātantiram* is the Tamiḻ form of the Sanskrit word *mahātantra* which is formed by combining the terms *mahā*, "great", and *tantra*. *Tantra* as found in texts has a variety of meanings. It connotes a religious text, an army, a device, a stratagem and many other things.[199]

When the word *ma(kā)tantiram* occurs in a text recording the activities of a military community it is most appropriate to construe it as one designating an army. As an expression it means "the great army". *Makātantiram*, *makācēnai* and *perumpaṭai* could therefore be synonymous and used interchangeably to denote "The great army". Such an explanation is supported by several considerations. Firstly, *makātantiram* as found in the inscription designates an association of the composite military community of the Vēḷaikkāṟar. Secondly, it is evident from the present inscription that the words *mūṉṟukai* and *makātantiram* were used interchangeably to designate the army of the Vēḷaikkāṟar. Once they are described as the *mūṉṟukait tiru vēḷaikkāṟar*, "the illustrious Vēḷaikkāṟar of the three hands", and in another context they refer to themselves as *makātantirattōm*, "we the members of the *makātantiram*". The third consideration is that the dedicatory expressions recorded in two inscriptions set up by the Vēḷaikkāṟar in two separate localities suggest that the *makātantiram* and the *mūṉṟukai (makācēnai)* were synonymous. The expressions *makātantirattukkpup-piḷaitta paṭaippakaiñan*, "the one who has become inimical to the army by violating the codes of the great army", occur in the slab inscription from Poloṉṉaṟuvai in line 45–46. The inscription found at Moragahawela records the expressions *mūṉṟu kaikkum piḷaiccārāvar*, "they would be deemed as those who have violated the codes of the *mūṉṟukai*", which is obviously an abbreviated form of the name *mūṉṟukai makācēnai*, "the great Army of the three arms (hands)".[200] The last and decisive consideration is the occurrence of the word *tantiram* in association with an army called *vīram-*

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[197] Paranavitana, "Polonnaruva Inscription of Vijaybahu I", p. 334.
[198] Nilakanta Sastri, "Vijayabāhu I, The Liberator of Lanka", pp. 45.
[199] Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 436.
[200] Kaṇapatipiḷḷai, "A Tamiḻ Pillar Inscription from Moragahawela", pp. 46–49.

*ākaḷam* in the slab inscription of the *vīrakkoṭi* from Putumuttāvai (Budumuttāva). In that epigraph the *vīramākāḷam* is referred to in one place as the *mākāḷat tantiram*, "the army of *mākāḷam*".[201] Thus any lingering doubts that have persisted hitherto about the connotation of *makātantiram* may now be dispelled. Paranavitana's claim that the three divisions or "hands" into which the Vēḷaikkāṟar were divided consisted of the *makātantra*, the *vaḷañceyar*, and the *nakarattār* is unfounded. In making such a claim he is reading into the text ideas which are alien to it. As stated in the epigraph, when the chief incumbent of Uttoruḷmūḷai invited the Vēḷaikkāṟar and requested them to take over the responsibility of protecting the temple of the Tooth Relic, the Vēḷaikkāṟar summoned a meeting of their *makātantiram*. The *vaḷañceyar* and the *nakarattār* were also invited to this meeting on account of the close relationship they had with them. The *vaḷañceyar* and *nakarattār* were never known to have been military communities. Paranavitana himself clearly recognizes that they were mercantile communities. Their presence at the meeting presupposes an interaction between them and the Vēḷaikkāṟar and it does not suggest, by any means, that they formed part of a composite army.

The interaction between the army of the Vēḷaikkāṟar at Poloṉṉaṟuvai and the mercantile communities may be explained in the light of evidence pertaining to them as found in epigraphic records set up in different localities in the country. The *vaḷañceyar* figure prominently as a mercantile community in the inscriptional preambles of the *nānātēci*.[202] Besides, these texts state that several military groups were engaged in service under them. The presence of such mercantile communities at Poloṉṉaṟuvai during the period when that city flourished is attested by inscriptions.[203] So the description of the *vaḷañceyar*, a community of merchants, as *mūtātaikaḷ*, "patrons" by the Vēḷaikkāṟar in their inscription has to be understood in the light of the interaction between mercantile and military communities. From the tone and contents of the inscription it would appear that the *makātantiram* "the great army" of the Vēḷaikkāṟar was affiliated to the Vaḷañceyar and served under them.

The expressions *eṅkaḷ mūtātaikaḷāyuḷḷa*, "those who are our patrons" and *eṅkaḷōṭu kūtivarum*, "those who accompany us", which have been applied to describe the relationship which the Vēḷaikkāṟar had with the *vaḷañceyar* and the *nakarattār* are ambiguous in their meanings. The word *mūtātaikaḷ* has been translated as "elders" and "leaders" respectively by Wickremasinghe and Paranavitana. Commenting on Paranavitana's translation of this word, Nīlakaṇṭa Cāttiri aptly observed that the translation of *mūtātaikaḷ* into "leaders" is not accurate. The word literally means "grandfathers", and what is meant cannot be physical descent when it is one corporation claiming this relation to another. It must imply some kind of spiritual or constitutional relation.[204]

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[201] Pathmanathan, "The Tamiḷ Slab Inscription of the Vīrakkoṭi at Budumuttuva…"
[202] Pathmanathan, "The Veḷaikkārar in Medieval South India and Sri Lanka", pp. 120–137.
[203] Pathmanathan, "The Nagaram …" pp. 122–163.
[204] Nilakanta Sastri, "Vjayabāhu I...", p. 70. Cf. Patmanathan, "The Nagaram…", pp. 122–163.

Scholars who have hitherto commented on this epigraph have assumed that the word *nakarattār* denotes the name of a mercantile community. The connotations associated with the word in modern times seem to provide the basis for such an understanding. But in respect of the *nakarattār* mentioned in the present inscription there is considerable doubt that it refers to the name of a mercantile community.

Morphologically *nakarattār* may be explained as an expression formed by adding the third person plural termination to the word *nakaram*. *Nakaram* designated a defined geographical area dominated and governed by mercantile communities. So, the word *nakarattār* could be explained as one denoting the members of the governing body of that locality. Such an explanation presupposes that the Vēḷaikkāṟar concerned were engaged in military service under a *nakaram* at Poloṉṉaṟuvai. The invitation extended to the *valañceyar* merchants and the *nakarattār* to the meeting of the *makātantiram*, "the great army", of the Vēḷaikkāṟar may be explained in the light of such a relationship between the military and mercantile communities.

Finally, the composition of the army of the Vēḷaikkāṟar remains to be considered. As the arrangement for the protection and maintenance of the shrine involved the constitution of a special body for that purpose—one person and one *veli* of land were assigned from each unit of the army *(paṭaippaṭaiyāl orō cēvakaraiyum orō vēli nilamum)*—it is clear that the *makātantiram* consisted of a few sub-divisions called *paṭai*. It was also a composite body including within its fold the groups of *iṭaṅkai*, *valaṅkai*, *ciṟutanam*, *piḷḷaikaḷ taṉam*, *parivārak-kontam*, *vaṭukar* and *malayāḷar*. It would appear that there was a threefold categorization of the component groups of the army. The categorization seems to have been made on the basis of enthno-linguistic affinity, social divisions and functional ranking. *Vaṭukar* and *malayāḷar* are doubtless ethnic categories. The people of Malayāḷam corresponding to Kēraḷam are usually referred to as *malayāḷar,* while the people of Kaṉṉaṭam and Teluṅkam extraction are referred to in Tamiḻ texts as *vaṭukar*, "the northerners". *Vaṭukar* is a variant form of *vaṭakkar* meaning "northerners", "the people of the north", and the regions where Kaṉṉaṭam and Teluṅkam were spoken were to the north of the Tamiḻ country.

*iṭaṅkai* and *valaṅkai* are the broad categories into which all social groups within Tamiḻ society were grouped since medieval times. Each of these categories included a large number of communities. The competition and conflict between the *iṭankai* and *valaṅkai* are recorded in many medieval inscriptions, some of which contain legendary accounts of their origins. Although a considerable amount of work has been done on this subject in recent times, the origins of the twofold division of society still remains obscure.

It would appear that *ciṟutaṉam*, *piḷḷaikaḷtaṉam* and *parivārakkontam* were catergories of functional rank. *Ciṟutaṉam* seems to have had a military significance as suggested by expressions like *ciṟutaṉattu valankai vēḷaikkāṟappaṭaikaḷ* and *ciṟutaṉattu vaṭukar kāvalar*. *Ciṟutaṉam* was probably a group of

soldiers whose homogeneity was derived from a common social origin and interests. The *piḷḷaikaḷtaṉam* must have been a military group recruited from the community of agriculturists. The *parivārakkontam* may be defined as a company of foot soldiers armed with a spear (*kuntam*).

## 6.13. A Pillar Inscription from Puḷiyaṅkuḷam. A Land Grant to a Buddhist Shrine

### *Civacuppiramaṇiyam Patmanātaṉ*

### 6.13.1. Text[205]

The Tamiḻ inscription engraved on a stone pillar found at Puḷiyaṅkuḷam in the Utiyaṅkuḷam area of the Anurādhapura District in the North Central Province records the granting of land to a Buddhist shrine. It is engraved in 23 short lines, some of which are badly damaged.[206] On the basis of its contents and palaeography, this epigraph can be assigned to the Poloṉṉaṟuvai period (1000–1250).

*1 svasti śrī*
*2 [Jayabā]*
*3 hu dēvar*
*4 kku yāṇṭu*
*5 4 āvatu*
*6 nālāvatu*
*7 buddhamahā*
*8 [vikārat]*
*9 tukku ye*
*10 [ḻutik] kuṭuttōm*
*11 [kuma]ran caṅ*
*12 kirāma....*
*13 14.....*
*14.....*
*15...kku*
*16 ti[ṟaiya]ṉ*
*17 ...nāṭā*
*18 ḻvān [a]*
*19 [ḷa]kar tēva*

[205] This text was deciphered by Kiruṣṇa Cāttiri on the basis of an estampage of the inscription supplied to him by the Archaeological Department of Ceylon.
[206] Bell, *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Annual Report for 1909*, p. 27. *SII 4*, No. 1410, p. 495.

*20 ...ñcu ti*
*21 ruttu ni*
*22 lam puttar*
*23 [mahā] devaṟ[ku]*

## 6.13.2. Translation

"In the 4th year of [Jayabā]hu dēvar, we—[kuma]ran cantirama.. and.. ti[raiya]ṉ.. *nāṭāḻvān* [Aḷa]kar tēvaṉ have granted... land to puttar mahadēvar of the puttar *mahā[vikāram]*."

## 6.13.2. Comment

Line 8 of the text is blank, but because the expressions that precede and follow the gap read *mahā...tukku*, the author was convinced that it made sense to insert *vik(h)āram* and read the whole expression as *mahā[vik(h)āram]*. There is no possibility of an alternate reading. Although the expression puttar*[mahā]dēvar* occurs at the end of the text (lines 22–23), the possibility of reading the word in lines 7–9 as *buddhamahādēvar* is precluded on account of incomplete words in lines 7 to 9.

## 6.13.3. Kings

The inscription records a land grant made by two individuals, one of whom had the title or epithet *nāṭāḻvān*. The specific name of the institution and the locality where it was established are not mentioned in the epigraph. The portions of the text in which the names of the king and the donor occur are fully or partially lost. It is dated in the 4th regnal year of a king whose name has as its concluding part the expression *-pāhu*. Among the rulers of Poloṉṉaṟuvai Vicayapāhu I (1059–1114, 1055–1110), Jayapāhu I (1114–1116, 1110–1111), Vikramapāhu I (1116–1137, 1111–1132), Gajabāhu II (1137–1153, 1132–1153), Parākramapāhu I (1153–1186, 1153–1186) and Vijayapāhu II (1186–1187, 1186–1187) had such names.

In our attempt to identify the ruler concerned, the first and last rulers in the list may easily be excluded. The regnal years of Vicayapāhu I were calculated from a date approximately equivalant to 1055 AD and he did not occupy any portion of the north-central part of the island before 1070, when the Cōḻas were defeated and lost control over that area. The regnal years of Vicayapāhu I were counted from his 18th year. But until his 15th regnal year his authority was for the most part confined to the south-eastern part of the island called Rohaṇa.

The reign of Vicayabāhu II was a very brief one lasting less than a year. Besides, the ruler whose regnal year is mentioned in the epigraph cannot be either Vikramapāhu or Gajabāhu as both of them were not consecrated rulers

and all epigraphic documents of their reigns are dated in the regnal years of Jayabāhu. Thus the names of only two kings, Jayapāhu I and Parākramapāhu I, remain to be considered.

In the present circumstances it is not easy to decide between the names of these two kings. Yet it may be suggested that the regnal years referred to in the epigraph are those of Jayapāhu I because there is a considerable number of Tamiḻ inscriptions dated in his regnal years and most of them record donations made to Buddhist institutions. The fourth regnal year of Jayapāhu I corresponds more or less to the third year of Vikramapāhu's period of rule in Polonnaruvai.

## 6.13.4. *nāṭāḻvān*

The inscription was obviously set up by the donors because they are described in the first person plural *(kuṭuttōm)*. The title or epithet of one of the donors, *nāṭāḻvān*, suggests that he belonged to a family of warriors exercising authority over a locality. The expression *nāṭāḻvān* occurs in the texts of only two inscriptions on the island. The expression *nāṭāḻvān*, which is formed by combining the words *nāṭu* and *āḻ*, means "the one who rules the *nāṭu*". It occurs in many South Indian Tamiḻ inscriptions. The reference to a *nāṭāḻvān* in a twelfth century inscription from a locality in the north-central part of the island is of some significance. It suggests that some Tamiḻ designations of rank were in vogue during this period. The earlier of these is a Cōḻa inscription dated in the reign of Rājendra Cōḻa. In that epigraph a military leader, *cēnāpatikaḷ*, is described as Jayamuṟi *nāṭāḻvān*. An inscription from Caṅkili Kanatarāvai dated in the reign of Rācēntira Cōḻa records a grant made by *senāpatikaḷ jayamuṟi nāṭāḻvān* for burning lamps at a shrine.[207] It would appear that the warrior chief described as *nāṭāḻvān* in the present epigraph exercized authority over a territorial division as an agent of Vikramabāhu.

## 6.13.5. Conclusion

The puttar *mahāvikāram* referred to in the inscription cannot be identified. The inscribed pillar was presumably originally set up within the premises of the Buddhist *vikāram* to which the land grant was made.

The description of the puttar as *mahādēvar* in the concluding portion of the epigraph is significant because it provides an indication of the points of contact between Hinduism and Buddhism. Such a description is somewhat unusual in the Theravāda tradition found on the island. An expression which is commonly used to describe god in the Tamiḻ Caiva and Vaiṇava traditions is applied to the puttar in this text. It has the effect of exalting the puttar to the status of a supreme divinity. In Buddhism the gods are accommodated and

[207] Vide *SI 4*, No.1408, p. 494.

assigned a position subordinate to that of the puttar, but in this instance the puttar himself is described clearly and without any ambiguity as the supreme divinity. This text provides clear evidence of the transfer of ideas associated with Caiva-Vaiṇava concepts to those of Buddhism. Some may even take the position that this was the result of a confusion of ideas.

## 6.14. A Tamiḻ Pillar Inscription from Māṅkaṉāy

*Civacuppiramaṇiyam Patmanātaṉ*[208]

### 6.14.1. Introduction

The epigraph from Māṅkaṉāy, a village located about eight miles to the north of the town of Tirukkōṇamalai (Trincomalee) was discovered in 1956 by the employees of the Archaeological Department, Colombo, and subsequently deposited in the Archaeological Museum at Anurādhapura. The text of the inscription was deciphered, edited and published by Ka. Kaṇapatipiḷḷai (K Kanapathipillai) in 1962 on the basis of an estampage given to him.[209]

The inscription is engraved on two sides of the pillar in Tamiḻ script interspersed with Grantha characters. The names *jayabāhu* and *gajabāhu* are written entirely in Grantha while the name Mānāparaṇa is written in Tamiḻ characters. It is interesting to find that Grantha characters have been avoided in the engraving of the letters of the expression *tēvar*.

On each side there are 22 lines of writing and the letters are indited between neatly engraved horizontal lines, which are 2 inches apart. The broader face of the pillar is 11.5 inches and the narrower one is 7.5 inches in width.

### 6.14.2. Text

Face A

*01. Svasti śrī a*
*02. paiya calāmē*
*03. ka panmarāṉa ca*
*04. kkaravarttika*
*05. ḷ śrī jeyabāhu*
*06. tēvarkku yāṉ*
*07. ṭu 43 āvatu ti*
*08. ruppaḷḷic civi*
*09. kaiyāril kaṇkā*
*10. ṇi mintaṉ ko*

Face B

*01. nirupati(ta)*
*02. (n) kuṟippu*
*03. kku māṉā*
*04. paraṇa tē*
*05. var gajabā*
*06. hu tēvar*
*07. ceytatu ce*
*08. yaleṉṟu*
*09. aruḷi tirumu*
*10. kam varakkā*

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[208] The author wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Tiru Ka Celvarattiṇam and Professor Ci Tillainātaṉ for their suggestions and comments on matters relating to this paper.
[209] Kaṇapatipiḷḷai, "Mankanai Inscription of Gayabahu II", pp. 12–14.

| | |
|---|---|
| *11. ṟaanēṉ gajabā* | *11. ṭṭic cilā* |
| *12. hu tēvar enakku jī* | *12. lēkam ce* |
| *13. vitamāka i(ṭ)ṭa i* | *13. ytu kuṭu* |
| *14. t tel vecārum* | *14. ttu itu* |
| *15. kiratu naratu ve* | *15. kku oru vi* |
| *16. cārum itil nāṟ* | *16. kkaṉam cey* |
| *17. pāl ellai peru* | *17. vārkaḷ nara* |
| *18. māḷ gajabā* | *18. kil. puttārā* |
| *19. hu tēvar vey* | *19. ññai va* |
| *20. ka vērattāḷvār* | *20. llava rai* |
| *21. kku pūmitāṉam* | *21. yaṉ cūḷa* |
| *22. āka iṭṭaruḷinār* | *22. ṟavu.* |

## 6.14.3. Translation from Tamiḻ

"Hail, prosperity. In the 43rd year of apaiya calāmēkavarmar cakkaravarttikaḷ śrī Jeyapāhu tēvar *perumāḷ* Gajabāhu tēvar gave as a land grant to the *āḻvār* of *veykavēram*, the fields called *tel vecār* and *kiratu naratu vecār* which were previously given to me, Mintaṉ Koṟṟaṉ, the superintendent of palanquin bearers attached to the palace, as maintenance land, and the lands adjacent to their four boundaries. In respect of this king's order (recorded) in the entry, Mānāparaṇa tēvar sent (us) a royal order proclaiming that it was an act of Gajabāhu tēvar. On the receipt of that order this inscription has been set up. Those who cause impediments to this grant shall be in hell. This oath is sworn with refernce to the puttar. The oath is sworn with reference to the *vallavar*".

## 6.14.4. Interpretations

The epigraph which is dated in the 43rd regnal year of Jeyapāhu (Jayabāhu I (1114 1116, 1110–1111)) is of unusual interest and significance. It throws light on the activities of two princes, Gajabāhu (Gajabāhu II (1137–1153, 1132–53)) and Māṉāparaṇa, and on some events on the island just before the accession of Parākramabāhu I (1153–1186) to the throne of Poloṉṉaṟuvai. It records a land grant made to a Buddhist monstery called *veykavēram* and provides some insights into the procedures relating to land grants. Some of the terms and concepts recorded are significant because they provide some indication of the inter-cultural communication and social interaction found in some parts of the island during the twelfth century. Although the inscription has run into two editions at the hands of specialists in epigraphy,[210] its contents have been imperfectly understood until now.

The purpose for which this inscription was set up could not be ascertained because it was not possible to decipher the crucial expressions. Incorrect read-

[210] Loc.cit.

ings of vital portions of the text have led to fundamental misconceptions and wrong interpretations. Commenting on the inscription Ka. Kaṇapatipiḷḷai observed that though the inscription was given by Gajabāhu, it is known from the second part that it was inscribed on stone by Mānāparaṇa alias Vīrabāhu I 1196 AD, who ruled the southern country.[211] Kaṇapatipiḷḷai stated further that the objective of the record was to register the donation for life of certain paddy lands to one Mintaṉ Koṟṟan, the overseer of the palanquin bearers of the palace.[212]

That the assumptions underlying these observations are false will become evident later. Kaṇapatipiḷḷai's reading of the text is faulty in four instances. His decipherment of the expressions in lines 20–21 as *veyka vērattāṉa paritta* is wrong, and his unsuccessful attempt here led him to entertain untenable notions about the purpose for which the inscription was set up. He did not recognize the last letters of the last word in the last line of the text on face A of the pillar, and so, he deciphered the word as *iṭṭaruḷina-*. However, on close examination, it is possible to recognize the traces of two letters after *na*. The expression concerned can be clearly deciphered as *iṭṭaruḷinār*.

The expressions in lines 16–19 of face B have eluded him. In the text he deciphered they are construed wrongly so as to read *ce(yaleṉṟu) ḷamati*. They have to be revised as *ceytavarkaḷ narakil*, and such a reading, apart from being supported by the engravings on the stone, makes it possible to comprehend the text in its proper setting. Finally, Kaṇapatipiḷḷai made a mistake in deciphering the last word of the text as *cūḻuṟavu*. The second letter of this expression which he recognized as *ḻu* is, in fact, a totally different one. It is *ḻa*. The revised and correct reading of the expression concerned is *cūḻaṟavu*.

Inevitably his translation of the text, as will be seen later, is wrong and misleading in some important respects. For instance, he refers to "the Vihāra of Gajabāhu deva which is situated on the main road"[213] in the last sentence of the first paragraph of his translation. The *vikāram* referred to in the epigraph was certainly not named after Gajabāhu although he was its benefactor.

### 6.14.5. Mānāparaṇa

Twenty-two years ago the author made a contribution by examining at some length the significance of the epigraph's contents.[214] The ruler Mānāparaṇa referred to in the inscription was identified as Mānābharaṇa II, the son of Śrī Vallabha of Rohaṇa and cousin of both Parākramabāhu I (1153–1186) and Gajabāhu II (1137–1153, 1132–1153). No attempt was made at this stage to revise the text deciphered by Kaṇapatipiḷḷai because facilities for scrutinizing the estampage of the inscription were not readily available. I was then of the

[211] Loc.cit.
[212] Loc.cit.
[213] Pathmanathan, "The Tamiḻ Inscription from Mankanai", pp. 81–86.
[214] Ibid., p. 84.

opinion that the record was spurious because of the fact that Mintaṉ Koṟṟan is described in the first person, and on account of the misunderstanding initially created by the editor of the inscription that it records a land grant made to Mintaṉ Koṟṟaṉ.[215] A re-examination of this inscription on the basis of experience gained over the years in studies on Tamiḻ epigraphy has stimulated fresh thinking, and I have been obliged to reformulate my views on grounds of academic necessity, and on the basis of revisions of the text deciphered and published by two editors.

### 6.14.6. Senerat Paranavitana' s Interpretation

Senerat Paranavitana's s edition of this inscription appeared, subsequently, in an issue of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica* published in 1973.[216] Commenting on the need for a re-edition of the document he says "While the learned professor has made a distinct contribution towards the interpretation of the document its historical significance has not been adequately elucidated by him. There are also some places, in which Prof. K. Kaṇapatipiḷḷai's text admits of improvement. The document is therefore re-edited for the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*".[217]

To what extent Senerat Paranavitana accomplished the task he set himself in this respect may be investigated here because it is a matter of great academic concern. The expressions in lines 19–20 which were erroneously deciphered as *vērattāṉa paritta* by Kaṇapatipiḷḷai have been revised as *vērattāṉa varākku* by Paranavitana. As usual, he proceeds to provide explanations of the etymology of *vērattāṉa*; but, as an expression, *varākku* has no meaning or significance. Paranavitana has obviously faltered where Kaṇapatipiḷḷai failed. The revisions in his reading were not sufficient to enable him, or anybody else, to comprehend correctly the contents of the inscription. In this respect, Paranavitana has not moved his readers away from the position in which they were left by Kaṇapatipiḷḷai ten years earlier.

Paranavitana correctly points out that the first editor failed to recognize the traces of a letter after *nā* in the last word of the text found on face A of the pillar, and in the version of the text he revised the expression reads *iṭṭaruḷinān*. However, it may be observed here that there is no trace at all of the letter *ṉ* in the inscription. The last letter found on this face of the stone is *r* and not *ṉ* and, therefore, the expression, as stated earlier, has to be deciphered as *iṭṭaruḷinār*, which is a finite verb ending with the honorific third person singular termination *-ār* and referring to the act of *pūmitāṉam* performed by the ruler Gajabāhu.

Paranavitana's attempt to revise the first two lines of face B of the pillar has proved to be a fiasco. In his revised version they read *i-vitti aṟivu pukku*. Such a reading is not supported by the letters on the stone. The word *nirupati* is

[215] Paranavitana, "A Tamiḻ Pillar Inscription from Mankanai", pp. 7–11
[216] Ibid., p. 8.
[217] Ibid., p. 11.

quite clear in the epigraph. Although the letters on the second line are not so clear, Kaṇapatipiḷḷai's decipherment of the expression concerned as *kuṟippukku* has to be sustained until an improvement is found.

The revisions effected by Paranavitana in respect of the decipherment of the concluding expressions of the inscription have turned out to be distortions. He has transformed the words puttar and *vallavaraiyaṉ,* which could be recognized without difficulty even by those who are not specialists in epigraphy, into *pattar* and *pallavaraiyaṉ*. The translation of a distorted version can be very misleading and the impressions formed on the basis of it can be false. His translation reads:

"Hail! Prosperity! In the 43rd year of Apaiya Calāmēkapanmar alias His Majesty, the Emperor Srī Jayabāhu, I am Mintan Koṟṟaṉ, the overseer of the palanquin bearers of the Royal palace. (This estate comprising) tel-vēcār and Kiratu-naratu-vēcār, which was assigned to me as maintenance by His Majesty Gajabāhu—(the land) comprised within the four boundaries of this (estate) up to the limits of the lands of the monastery of Veyka, His Majesty, Lord Gajabāhu, was pleased to assign (again) as a land grant. This information having come to the knowledge of (His majesty) Mānāparaṇa, (His Majesty) was pleased to vouchsafe the boon of a verbal order (to the effect) that what has been done by his Majesty Gajabāhu was (indeed a good) deed, and had the land granted by executing a writing on stone, (and declaring that) those who cause any impediment to this (grant) (will be) fallen into hell. This order (has been attested on) oath by Pallavaraiyaṉ".[218]

Besides having failed, like Kaṇapatipiḷḷai, to discern the purpose for which the stone inscription was set up, Paranavitana has misrepresented the ideas conveyed by the concluding portion of the text on account of his own misunderstanding. In attempting to revise and improve the text on the basis of his decipherment he has in fact distorted it and, in this instance, his performance does not measure up to his claims and reputation.

Paranavitana's only concern in elucidating the historical significance of the inscription is the identification of Mānāparaṇa and the circumstances leading to his presence in Poloṉṉaṟuvai.

## 6.14.7. Re-examination

Our re-examination of this inscription shows that the key expressions in lines 19–20 of face A, which reveal the purpose for which it was set up, can be correctly deciphered as *veyka vērattāḷvārkku.* These have a significance and meaning. Their direct meaning is "to the āḷvār of Veykavēram". That *vēram* is an alternate form of *vikāram* is known from the inscriptions of Rājarājapperumpaḷḷi.

Both Ka Kaṇapatipiḷḷai and Se. Paranavitana read these expressions respec-

[218] Paranavitana, "Two Tamiḻ Pillar Inscriptions from Budumuttāva", pp. 302–312.

tively as *veyka vērattāna paritta* and veyka *verattāṉa varākku*. The decipherment of the last word as *paritta* is obviously wrong because its last two letters are *-kku* and not *-tta,* as is evident from the characters on the stone. Although Paranavitana came closer to a successful decipherment, he could not correctly identify the expressions owing to a lack of imaginative understanding. What both of them recognized as *vērattān(ṉ)a* is in fact *vērattāḷ,* which is incomplete as an expression. The last letter *ḷa* has been mistakenly identified as *ṉa* because the two letters have a close resemblance, the only difference being that the central stroke in *ḷa* assumes the form of a circle in *ṉa*. What Paranavitana recognized as *varākku* is in fact—*vārkku*. It should be noted here that in medieval Tamiḻ inscriptions the long vowel *ā* and the semi-vowel *ra* are represented by identical characters. So *vārkku* could be wrongly identified as *varākku,* particularly when the letters are indited in small characters and are very close to one another owing to lack of space as is obviously the case here. So *vērattāḷ* and *vārkku* put together reads *vērattāḷvārkku,* which is formed with the addition of the dative case termination *-ku* to the nominative form *vērattāḷvār*.

In the light of the proper decipherment of the expressions concerned, the portion of the text in lines 18–22 on face A of the Pillar, as found in the published versions, may be reconstructed as follows:

*Gajabāhutēvar veyka vērattāḷvārkku pūmitāṉam iṭṭaruḷinār.*
"Gajabāhutēvar made a land grant to the *āḷvār* of the *veykavēram*".

It is thus clear that the inscription was set up to proclaim a land grant made by Gajabāhu tēvar to a *vēram* (*vihāram)* and not the grant of maintenance lands to Mintaṉ Koṟṟaṉ as claimed by Ka Kaṇapatipiḷḷai and Senerat Paranavitana.

There are, of course, references in the inscription to two grants made by Gajabāhutēvar, one to Mintaṉ Koṟṟaṉ and the other to the *āḷvār* of *veykaveram*. What is significant is that these grants were not made simultaneously. They were made on different occasions, and the second grant, the one to the *vikāram,* had the effect of annulling the one made earlier.

Mintaṉ Koṟṟaṉ, who is described as "the superintendent of palanquin bearers attached to the palace", was a dignitary of considerable influence. According to customs prevailing in the country, those who performed services at the court and assisted the king in sustaining the framework of administration were supported with land grants held on service tenure and traditionally known as *jīvita(m)*. That Mintaṉ Koṟṟaṉ received such a grant from Gajabāhu is clear from the following passage recorded in this inscription:

*mintaṉ koṟṟanēn Gajabāhu tēvar enakku jivitamāka iṭṭa tel vecārum kiratu naratu vecārum.*
"The fields (called) *tel vecār* and *kiratu-naratu vecār* assigned as maintenance-land by Gajabāhu tevar, to me Mintaṉ Koṟṟan".

When Gajabāhu made a land grant to the *āḷvār* of *veykavēram* on a subsequent occasion towards the end of his reign, the fields previously given as *jīvitam* to Mintaṉ Koṟṟan were also included in the grant as is evident from the following passage recorded in the epigraph:

> *tirup*paḷḷic *civikaiyāril kaṇkāṇi mintaṉ koṟṟaṉēn gajabāhu tēvar enakku jivitamāka iṭṭa tel vecārum kiratu naratu vecārum itil nārpāl ellai perumāḷ Gajabāhutēvar veyka vērattāḷvārkku pūmitāṉam iṭṭaruḷinār.*
>
> "Perumal Gajabāhutēvar donated these fields called *telvecār* and *kiratu naratu vecār* which were (previously) assigned to me as maintenance-land and the lands on their four boundaries as a land grant (*pūmitāṉam*) to the *āḷvār* of *veykavēram*".

Mintaṉ Koṟṟan is referred to in the first person in the text because the lands granted to the *vēram* were previously assigned to him, and because he himself had had the inscription recording the grant made to the *vēram* engraved. A document recording the transfer of lands to a religious institution on the instruction of a ruler, authorized by the person who previously held the land on service-tenure, can by no means be construed as spurious. Doubts caused by an inadequate understanding of the text owing to its imperfect decipherment are now dispelled. It may also be recalled here that in most cases it was court functionaries who caused royal orders and instructions to be engraved on stone. In one of the pillar inscriptions from Budumuttāva, the court official who caused the royal order to be engraved is referred to in the first person as *mākkaliṅkam kaṇavatiyēn*—"by me, Mākkaliṅkam Kaṇavati"..[219]

## 6.14.8. Mānāparaṇa Again

The second part of the inscription introduces the name of another ruler, Mānāparaṇa, and states that he considered the instructions of the ruler Gajabāhu *(nirupati tan kuṟippu)* pertaining to the grant and issued an order to the effect that the notification relating to the grant made to the *vēram* should be engraved on stone. It was in compliance with this order that Mintaṉ Koṟṟaṉ caused the inscription to be engraved, presumably, in his capacity as a court official.

The epigraph under consideration highlights certain matters relating to procedures concerning the land grant and the circumstances under which it was set up. As it is dated in the 43rd year of the reign of Jeyapāhu I (1114–1116, 1110–1111), it is clear that it was indited shortly before the coronation of Parākramabāhu I (1153–1186) at Poloṉṉaṟuvai around 1153. Mānāparaṇa had been in control of the kingdom of Poloṉṉaṟuvai for a while before this event and subsequent to the death of Gajabāhu II.

As suggested by the text of the Māṅkaṉāy inscription, the instructions pertaining to the land grant made to the *veykavēram* were issued by Gajabāhu II,

[219] *CvT* 61: 4; 62: 4.

but the formal procedures regarding its execution were not completed during his lifetime. These were brought to the notice of Mānāparaṇa when he occupied Rājaraṭa after the death of Gajabāhu II. Mānāparaṇa confirmed the grant and issued an order to the effect that the notification concerning the grant should be proclaimed in the form of a stone inscription (*cilālēkam*).Acting on this order Mintaṉ Koṟṟan set up the stone inscription. In respect of the land grant and its execution, the epigraph from Māṅkaṉāy is reminiscent of the Leyden Plates of the Cōḷa kings, although they are by no means comparable in scale.

## 6.14.9. The Rulers

The identification of the rulers referred to in this inscription does not pose any serious problems. Jeyabāhutēvar described as *apaiya calāmēkapanmar* and *cakkaravarttikaḷ* was the younger brother and successor of Vijayabāhu I (1059–1114, 1055–1110). Gajabāhutēvar was a grandson of Vijayabāhu I, being a son of Vikramabāhu II (1116–1137, 1111–1132) and Sundarī, a Kāliṅga princess. The inscription refers to a third ruler, Mānāparaṇa (Mānābharaṇa), who issued an order confirming the grant made by Gajabāhu with the instruction that it should be proclaimed by means of a stone inscription.

In the twelfth century there were two princes in the island called Mānāparaṇa. One of them was a nephew of Vijayabāhu I. This prince who was the eldest son of Mitta, the younger sister of Vijayabāhu I, was consecrated as *yuvarāja*, heir apparent, on the consecration of his uncle Jeyabāhu I as king around 1110 AD. By this arrangement the claims of Vikramabāhu II, the son of the previous king, were overlooked.[220]

Mānāparaṇa, however, was defeated by Vikramabāhu II, who secured control over Rājaraṭa, "the king's country", comprising the northern parts of the kingdom. King Jeyapāhu I lost his authority in Poloṉṉaṟuvai and elsewhere. Vikramabāhu II could not subdue the remaining parts of the kingdom. Whereupon, his cousin Mānāparaṇa and his brothers occupied them and divided the territory among themselves. Mānāparaṇa assumed control over *dakkhiṇadesa,* corresponding to the western and north-western parts of the island, while Rohaṇa in the south and the south-east was divided between his younger brothers, Kitti Siri Megha and Sirī Vallabha. The eldest of the brothers may be referred to as Mānāparaṇa I to distinguish him from his nephew, Mānāparaṇa, the son of Siri Vallabha.

The suggestion made by the first editor of this inscription that Mānāparaṇa it referred to was the ruler of Māyaraṭa is untenable. The inscription is dated in the 43rd year of the reign of Jeyapāhu I which corresponds to 1153 AD, whereas Mānāparaṇa I had died before Gajabāhu II became ruler of Poloṉṉaṟuvai around 1132 AD. The prince referred to in the inscription was

[220] The account of Mānāparaṇa as found here is extracted from the present author's earlier paper, Pathmanathan, "The Tamiḻ Inscription from Mankanai", pp. 81–82.

evidently Mānāparaṇa II, the cousin and contemporary of Gajabāhu II and Parākramabāhu I.

Mānāparaṇa II was deeply involved in the struggle between Parākramabāhu I and Gajabāhu II for the control of Rājaraṭa. He had considerable support and sympathy from the inhabitants of the northern principality to whom he appeared as the only source of support against the armies of Parākramabāhu which they seem to have disliked. Mānāparaṇa led his armies into Rājaraṭa on two occasions. On both occasions his success was conspicuous but shortlived. Although he displayed commendable skill as a military leader, he was vacillating and irresolute and on account of this weakness he failed to consolidate his position in spite of advantages gained in war.

On the first occasion, he advanced into Rājaraṭa after Gajabāhu II had been taken prisoner by the armies of Parākramabāhu I that had overrun the principality. Mānāparaṇa II dislodged these armies from Poloṉṉaṟuvai and freed Gajabāhu II from captivity. Yet, he was not inclined to restore Gajabāhu II in power. He had the members of his family and his courtiers taken to Poloṉṉaṟuvai from Rohaṇa and took charge of the government there. Later he was compelled to withdraw into his principality after military reverses.

When Gajabāhu died at Kantaḷāy, where he had taken up residence during the later part of his career, the functionaries of his court moved out to Koṭṭiyāram from where they invited Mānāparaṇa II to come and take charge of the government. In response to this appeal Mānāparaṇa II advanced into Rājaraṭa and overwhelmingly defeated the armies of his rival cousin. The forces of Parākramabāhu I had to temporarily abandon most of Rājaraṭa.[221]

It was under such circumstances and around the year 1153 AD that the epigraph at Māṅkaṉāy was set up. The contents of this record suggest that besides being engaged in warfare, Mānāparaṇa II concerned himself with matters pertaining to administration. It would appear that on occasions he summoned court functionaries to his presence and directed their affairs. Mintaṉ Koṟṟan was obviously one such dignitary, and was also probably associated with the group of functionaries who had invited Mānāparaṇa to be head of the government on the demise of Gajabāhu II. Such an impression gains support from the description of events leading to Mānāparaṇa's advance into Rājaraṭa found in the *Cūḷavaṃsa*.[222] It is also possible that Mānāparaṇa took up residence at the palace at Kantaḷāy where Gajabāhu II had previously resided.[223]

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[221] *Cv 71: 1–2: Gaṅgātaṭākam āgantvā Gajabāhu mahīpati, rajadhāniṃ karitvāna nivasī so tahiṃ sukham.* "The ruler Gajapāhu betook himself to Gangataṭāka, made it his residence and dwelt there happily". Vide *Cv* 71:1, 6–7, 9,72.

[222] *Cv* 71:72.

[223] An inscription from Tiruppuḷḷāṇi in Irāmanātapuram refers to a person called Aḷakaṉ Āṟiyaccakkaravartti who had the epithet *teyvaccilaip perumāḷ*, whereas one of the epigraphs from Tiruvaraṅkam testifies that the *āriyaccakkaravartti* called Matituṅkaṉ had the epithet *taniniṉṟu veṉṟa perumāḷ*. Vide SII 3, no. 398, p. 209; Pathmanathan, *The Kingdom...*,pp. 175–176.

## 6.14.10. *perumāḷ, āḷvār and vallavaraiyaṉ*

The expressions *perumāḷ*, *āḷvār* and *vallavaraiyaṉ* that occur in this inscription require some explanation and elucidation. The word *perumāḷ* had many different connotations. As an epithet it was applied to eminent people. Sometimes, it was the component of an epithet of principal dignitaries in the kingdom, as in the case of *taṉiniṉru veṉra perumāḷ* and *teyvaccilaip perumāḷ*, epithets of *āriya cakkaravarttis* who served under the *Pāṇṭiya* king Māravaramaṉ Kulacēkaraṉ (1268–1310).[224] The Cēra kings had the title *perumāḷ* and in this respect it was analoguous to *vaḷavan* and *ceḻiyaṉ, which were* generally applied to the Cōḻa and *Pāṇṭiya* kings respectively. In the Hindu religious tradition it was applied to God and more specifically to Mahā Viṣṇu. Vaiṇava temples are often referred to as *perumāḷ* kōyil even today.[225] In the Māṅkaṉāy epigraph the word *perumāḷ* is applied to Gajabāhutēvar as a royal epithet, in the sense of prince or ruler. It would appear that this inscription is the oldest extant record on the island containing a reference to *perumāḷ* applied as a royal epithet.

The reference to the *āḷvar* of *veykavēram* is of particular significance. The *āḷvār* of *veykavēram* is obviously a representation of the puttar in some form. It is interesting to find here an instance where a word generally applied to denote concepts in the Hindu tradition is applied to Buddhist concepts.

The twelve principal leaders of the movement of devotional theism in South Indian Vaiṇavam are generally referred to as *āḷvār*. According to an authoritative opinion, the original and correct form was *āḷvār* derived from the root *āḷ*, "to rule". It is argued convincingly that on account of the confusion between *ḷa* and *ḻa*, as suggested by numerous examples from epigraphy, *āḻvār* became established in the course of time as the accepted literary form. Such an explanation is supported by the use of such terms as *āṇṭāḷ* and *āḷavantān* in connection with some of the leading exponents of South Indian Vaiṇavam. These expressions are undoubtedly derived from the root *āḷ*. "The Supreme God (iṟaivaṉ) who rules the world", supreme devotees who had obtained the grace of god, holy persons worthy of worship, kings who rule over the land and supreme benefactors are the principal connotations of the word āḷvār.[226]

The principal connotations of the word *āḻvār* were God, gods, supreme devotees, religious teachers and people of great eminence.[227] As a term of description it could be applied to those who attracted and brought men and women under their sway and influence through their charismatic qualities. The word *āḷvār* is derived from the root *āḷ* and formed by the addition of a termination indicating the third person honorific singular of the common gender. Its singu-

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[224] *TL* 5, 1, p. 2882

[225] These views are based on the opinion expressed by Irākava Aiyaṅkar, a reputed Tamiḻ scholar of Tamiḻ literature and grammar. Vide *kalaik kalañciyam 1*, p. 75.

[226] Vide *peruñ collakarāti*, tokuti 2, mutaṉmaip patīppācīriyar muttu caṇmukampiḷḷai 1989, p. 247.

[227] *TL* 7, p. 3528.

lar masculine and feminine forms are respectively *āḷvāṉ* and *āṇṭāḷ*. In our inscription the word *āḷvār* is applied as an epithet of the puttar to signify his pre-eminence as a religious teacher.

*vallavaraiyaṉ cuḻaṟavu* occurs as the last sentence in the inscription. It is preceded by the expression *puttarāṉṉai*. These taken together translate: "The oath (sworn) by reference to the puttar; the oath (sworn) by reference to the *vallavaraiyaṉ*. *vallavaraiyaṉ* is a compound expression formed by combining the words *vallavar* and *aiyaṉ*, the latter meaning "Lord" among several other things. The fact that an oath was sworn in the name of *vallavar* provides the indication that he was considered worthy of worship and veneration, as in the case of the puttar in whose name also the oath is sworn. *vallavar* is the Tamiḻ form of Vallabha, one of the epithets of Kaṇēcar (Gaṇeśa).[228] In the invocation addressed to Kaṇēcar he is also called *vallavar* and in the manuals on Hindu iconography, Vallavar is said to be one of the thirty-two forms of Vināyaka. As Kaṇecar(Vināyakar) was known as *vallavar* his consort was called *vallavai*.[229] The tradition of incorporating the names of Hindu gods and concepts along with the *triratna* in the concluding imprecatory portions of inscriptions issued by court officials appears to have had its precedents in the practices of the Poloṉṉaṟuvai period.

## 6.15. The Rājarājapperumpaḷḷi at Periyakuḷam

### *Civacuppiramaṇiyam Patmanātaṉ*

### 6.15.1. The Temple and its Inscriptions

Excavations at Periyakuḷam undertaken by the Archaeological Department on an experimental basis in 1929, and later systematically in 1953, have brought to light architectural and epigraphical remains of an impressive character. They testify to the existence of a perumpaḷḷi, "great paḷḷi", which flourished at the locality in medieval times. Commenting on these remains Sēneraṭ Paranavitana, the Archaeological Commissioner under whose direction the excavations were undertaken, observed that the base mouldings of this "Tamiḻ Vihara" differ in their details from those of the Buddhist edifices at Anurādhapura and Poloṉṉaṟuvai. He found that they were similar to the mouldings of the Caiva shrines built by the Cōḻar at Poloṉṉaṟuvai and added that in view of the fact that no remains of a Buddhist paḷḷi, of which there were a considerable

[228] *TL* 5, p. 2882.

[229] One of the introductory stanzas in the *takṣiṇa kailāca purāṇam* contains a description of Kaṇēcar. He is said to have his consort Vallavai by his side. Vallavai is the feminine form of Vallavar. The relevant expressions in the text runs: *orupāl vallavaiyum taritta cōtik kaimukaṇai maṟavāteṉitaṉam*, "my heart will never forget the luminous deity with the face and trunk of an elephant, who has Vallavai on his side". Vide *sri takṣiṇa kailācapurāṇam*, kā civacitampara aiyar 1887, *pāyiram*, ceyyuḷ 5, pa. 2.

number in South India, have yet been brought to light in the Tamiḻ land, the importance of the ruins unearthed at Periyakuḷam is not restricted to Ceylon.[230]

Paranavitana described the remains of an image-house of brick, which in its fully developed stage had a length of 56 ft and a width of 28 ft 7 in, with characteristic Dravidian mouldings at its base. They were according to him among the most impressive sights at the ancient Velgam-Vehera, now called Nātanār kōyil, near Tirukkōṇamalai, and interesting as the only known example of "a Tamiḻ Buddhist paḷḷi" preserved, albeit in ruins, up to the present day.[231]

Paranavitana tells us further that at this site as many as sixteen Tamiḻ inscriptions from the eleventh century, most of them dated in the regnal years of Cōḻa monarchs, have been discovered. These show that the Buddhist establishment at Periyakuḷam was in a flourishing condition in the period of Cōḻa rule.[232]

He found that most of the inscriptions were badly damaged and fragmentary. The bulk of the records belong to the period of Cōḻa rule and are, in fact, dated in the regnal years of the Cōḻa monarchs. Of these records, seven definitely belong to the reign of Rājendra Cōḻa I (1012–1044). Two more appear to belong to the same period. One is dated in the reign of Rājendra II (1052–1064). The dates of the others are not known but on grounds of palaeography they can be ascribed to the period of Cōḻa rule.[233]

Of the sixteen Tamiḻ inscriptions discovered at this site, fourteen were deciphered and published with translations by Kārttikēcu Intirapālā and ĀḷvāppiḷḷaiVēluppiḷḷai more than 25 years ago.[234] Of these fourteen inscriptions, seven are inscribed on stone slabs, three on walls, two on a guardstone, one on a plinth and another one on the base of a bronze lamp.[235]

The value of these inscriptions lies mainly in the fact that they record endowments made to the *perumpaḷḷi* by many individuals. They mention the objects granted, the names of the donors, their epithets and titles, the name of the institution to which grants were made and the locality to which it was attached. The fact that the *meykkīrtti*, inscriptional preamble, of Rājendra Cōḻa is prefixed to some of the donative records is probably of some significance.

The *perumpaḷḷi* was named after the Cōḻa monarch Rājāraja and called *rājārajap-perum*paḷḷi. It was also called *velkam vēram*, a name reminiscent of Velgam vehera referred to in an inscription attributed by the epigraphists of the Archaeological Department to the time of Bhātika Tissa II (203–227, 143–167), and is found inscribed on a guardstone at the site.[236] Velkam vēram was

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[230] Paranavitana, *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Annual Report (ASCAR)* (1953), part G, p. 12.
[231] Paranavitana, "Civilisation of the Polonnaru Period…", p. 590.
[232] Indrapala, "Fourteen Cōḻa Inscriptions…", p. 37.
[233] Ibid., p. 38.
[234] Ibid., pp. 37–56. Vēluppiḷḷai, *CTI* 1, pp. 12–19; Id., CTI 2, pp. 1–6.
[235] *ET 1*, p. 38.
[236] Paranavitana, *Archaeological Survey…*, p. 14.

otherwise unknown until the late tenth century. It did not attract the attention of the authors of the Pāli chronicle, the *Mahāvaṃsa*, which does not contain any reference to it in relation to the period prior to the reign of Vijayabāhu I in the 11th century. It was apparently a modest shrine supported by local residents. Although its origins can be traced to the 2nd century AD, the history of this shrine during the long period of eight centuries prior to the Cōḻa conquest remains obscure and the excavations at the site have not produced anything to shed light on this matter. There are the fragments of an inscribed slab containing characters from about the 10th century, but the purport of this inscription is not clear and it is not possible to ascertain whether it was originally set up at the premises of the temple concerned or was brought from elsewhere when building materials were gathered for the construction of the *Rājarājapperumpaḷḷi*.

It would appear that the *velkam vēram* was reconstructed on an impressive scale during the early 11th century by Buddhists of the locality, presumably with the support of some agents of the Cōḻa kings posted around it, and that it was named *rājarājapperumpaḷḷi* in the same manner as the famous *perumpaḷḷi* at Nākapaṭṭiṉam. It may be recalled here that the great *vikāram* at the coastal town of Nākapaṭṭiṉam constructed by the Śailendra kings, Cūḷāmaṇivarmaṉ and Śrī Māra Vijayottuṅgavarmaṉ, had two alternate names, *cūḷamaṇivarmāvihāram* and *rājarājap-perumpaḷḷi*. It was so named after its founder, the Śailendra king, and the Cōḻa king in whose dominion it was situated and who had made a substantial endowment for its maintenance

In inscriptions found among its remains the *perumpaḷḷi* is consistently referred to by both the names *rājarājapperumpaḷḷi* and *velka(m) vēram (velka(m) vēramāna rājāraja perum*paḷḷi*)*. The expressions *velkam vēramāna rājarājāperumpaḷḷi*, "Rājarājapperumpaḷḷi otherwise called Velka(m) vēram", are recorded in five inscriptions.[237] It is described as *velkāmappaḷḷi* in one instance. Kārttikēcu Intirapālā could not recognize the last two letters of the name. That the reading *velkāmappaḷḷi* found in the version of the text given by Ālvapiḷḷai Vēluppiḷḷai is correct is evident from the photograph of the estampage illustrated in the latter's edition.[238] It may therefore be assumed that the locality to which the *vihāram* or *perumpaḷḷi* was confined had the name Velkāmam. It was a village attached to the division called *abhayāśraya vaḷanāṭu*, a unit of *mummuticcōḻa maṇṭalam*, the name by which Īḻam was referred to in Cōḻa epigraphy.

Īḻam is one of the Tamiḻ names of the island of Lanka. The earliest reference to it in literature is to be found in the *paṭṭiṉappalai*, a text ascribed to the 2nd century AD. It mentions *īḻattuṇavum kaḻakattākkamum*,[239] "the foodstuffs of Īḻam and the products of Kāḻakam".

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[237] *ET 1*, pp. 41, 44, 45, 47, 49.
[238] *ET 1*, p. 45. *CTI* 1, p. 19.
[239] *kaṭiyalūr uruttiraṅkaṇṇaṉār iyaṟriya paṭṭinappālai*, perumḷaippulavar po vē cōmacuntaraṉār eḷutiya viḷakkavuraiyuṭaṉ 1956, p. 6, line 191.

An explanation of the derivation of this name is found in the *takṣiṇa kailācapurāṇam*, a *talapurāṇam* on Kōṇēcuvaram written by king Cekarācacēkaraṉ in the 14th century: *amaitta poṉmalai ātalin appeyar camaitta* Īḷam *iteṉru taḷīyatāl*,[240] "as a golden bank (of *īmayam*) was established here this (island) acquired the name Īḷam...".

The same territorial division is also referred in some of these inscriptions by two other names, *rājendraciṅka vaḷanāṭu* and *parakēcari vaḷanāṭu*. *abhayāśraya vaḷanāṭu* and *irācēntira ciṅka vaḷanāṭu* were the names of two divisions of Cōḷa maṇṭalam. In this instance they are applied as the alternative names of one of the divisions of Īḷam.[241]

Among the inscriptions that have been found among the remains of Rājarājapperumpaḷḷi there is none that can be considered as recording the donations made by a Cōḷa king, although portions of the meykkīrtti are found indited on many stone fragments. Yet, the inclusion of the meykkīrtti of the Cōḷa king in the epigraphic records and the fact that many of them are dated in the regnal years of the Cōḷa kings provide the indication that the donors who made endowments and the authorities of the perumpaḷḷi acknowledged the Cōḷa king as the ruler when the records were set up.

## 6.15.2. The Endowments and their Donors

The names of only four donors can be recognized from the inscriptions. They are (1) Ātittap pēraraiyaṉ, (2) Taṟiyanan pūvana tēvaṉ (3) Amutañ cāttan and (4) Kaṇṭaṉ Yakkaṉ. An analysis of the brief descriptions of them provides insights into their ranks and origins. The first of these individuals is described as palavan putukkuṭiyān ātittap-pēraraiyan. palavan and ātittan are apparently personal names. The expression putukkuṭiyān suggests that Ātittaṉ was from a locality called Putukkuṭi and pēraraiyan designated a title or epithet of rank. So Ātittan was a native of Putukkuṭi and served as a functionary or agent of the Cōḷas, as suggested by his designation *pēraraiyaṉ*.

The engraving of some letters between the words putukkuṭiyān and ātittappēraraiyan suggests that the donor had another name. Ālvapiḷḷai Vēluppiḷḷai read the letters concerned as *stavayya ramyanā*. The reading is not satisfactory because these expressions cannot be considered as lexical items conveying meanings. Intirapālā's contention that they represent symbols is untenable because the insertion of symbols between the name and epithet of an individual would be meaningless. So, it is suggested here that these letters should be read as *satyāśrayan*.

The reading *putukkuṭiyāṉ* does not seem to be correct because there are traces of three letters between putukkuṭi and yān. Both Intirapālā and Vēluppiḷḷai seem to have overlooked them. Therefore the reading *putukkuṭi uṭaiyān* is preferable. Such a reading presupposes that Āttitaṉ had two epi-

[240] *takṣiṇakailācapurāṇam*, pakuti 1, 1995, ceyyuḷ 2, pa. 21.
[241] *ET 1*, pp. 44, 45, *CTI* 1, pp. 18.

thets: *uṭaiyāṉ*, "the owner", and *pēraraiyan*, "the great king". It is difficult to determine whether he was a local inhabitant or had come from a locality in South India. As there are still many localities called Putukkuṭi in the northern and eastern parts of the island, the probability is that he was a native of Īḻam who had accepted service under the Cōḻas.

Another donor, mentioned in one of the epigraphs, was *kōlattu taṟiyanaṉ pūvaṇatēvaṉ*. There is no reference to any of his designations. But from the description it is clear that he was a native of Kōlam. As there is no evidence for the existence of any locality called Kōlam on the island, and because there were several such localities in the Tamiḻ kingdoms of South India, it may be assumed that Taṟiyanan Puvaṉatēvaṉ was an individual who had gone to the island from a locality in South India and was living around Velkāmam (Periyakuḷam) during the 11th century. Amutan Cāttan was another donor who made an endowment to the Rājārajap-perumpaḷḷi. He is described as the *uṭaiyān* of *kāṷāṅku*. The form of the name deciphered by Ālvapiḷḷai Vēluppiḷḷai is *kāṷavaku kōṭi*. Intirapālā has identified it as *kāyā(ṅ)kucara(n)*. The correct reading, however, appears to be *kāyāṅkuṭaiyān*. It would therefore appear that the donor was the *uṭaiyān* of a locality called Kāyāṅku, a name reminiscent of Uttaraṅku referred to in a Cōḻa Pāṇṭiya inscription. In fact Kāyāṅku was a locality in Mīypāmpāṟu, a subdivision of Miḻalaikūṟṟam in the southern part of the Pāṇṭiya kingdom. An inscription dated in the reign of Śrī Vallavaṉ (Śrī Vallabba, 12th century) from Tiruvālīśvaram, Ambasamudram taluk, Tirunēlveli district, refers to Cāttan Ātittaṉ otherwise called Aḻakiya pāṇṭiya mūvēntavēḷaṉ, who was the *uṭaiyāṉ* of Kāyāṅku. That *kāyāṅku* was a locality in Mīypāmpāṟu, a subdivision of Miḻalaikūṟṟam, is evident from the following description:

> *tirumiḻalaikkūṟṟattu mīypāmpāṟṟu kāyāṅku-uṭaiyān cāttan ātittanāna aḻakiya-pāṇṭiya mūvēntavēḷāṉum*
> "Cāttan Ātittan otherwise called *aḻakiyapāṇṭiya mūvēntavēḷāṉ*, the *uṭaiyāṉ* of Kāyāṅku in Mīypāmpāṟṟu (a subdivision) of tirumiḻalaikkūṟṟam".

It is significant that he is called a paṇimakaṉ, "e*mployee*" or "executor of (designated) functions", "functionary". Functionaries called *paṇimakkaḷ* are often referred to in Cōḻa inscriptions. Sometimes they are mentioned as belonging to the class of *peruntaṇam* or *ciṟutaṇam*, designations which have not yet been elucidated properly. The explanation provided by Vēṅkayya that *ciṟutaṇam* denotes "minor treasure" does not appear to be a satisfactory one.[242]

As *paṇimakaṉ* was the designation of a class of functionaries serving in the Cōḻa administration, it may be presumed that this donor was a Cōḻa functionary like Tēvaṉ, the donor of an endowment to the temple of Tiruviramīśvaram

[242] Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōḻas* 2, 1 p. 405.

at Mātōṭṭam.[243] In one of the Cōḻa inscriptions from Tiruviramīśvaram, Tēvaṉ is described as a *peruṉtaṉattup paṇimakaṉ*, "peruṉtaṉam functionary" of Rājendra Cōḻa tēvar. He is described as *uṭaiyār śrī rajendra Cōḻa tēvar peruṉtaṉattup paṇimakaṉ ciṟukuḷattūr uṭaiyāṉ*, "the Uṭaiyāṉ of Ciṟukuḷattur, a *panimakaṉ* of the *peruṉtanam* of Rājendra Cōḻātēvar". *peruṉtanam* was obviously a group of people in the service of the king and some of those attached to this group seem to have been of the elite class as in the case of Tēvan, the Uṭaiyāṉ of Ciṟukuḷattūr. So Amutaṉ Cāttaṉ, the Uṭaiyāṉ of Kāyaṅku who is called a *paṇimakaṉ,* may be considered as someone attached to a group of people serving the Cōḻas in some capacity. In this instance the word *paṇimakaṉ* need not be understood in a too literal sense as conveying the meaning servant.[244]

The fourth donor was *ēṟānāṭan kaṇṭaṉ yakkaṉ*. Yakkaṉ was the personal name of this individual. That he was a warrior is suggested by his designation *kaṇṭaṉ*, "destroyer". Although Intirapālā recognizes that Yakkaṉ was a warrior, he is unable to explain the expression *ēṟānāṭan*. He says that it is not possible to identify this place but it may be compared with the place name Eṟāvūr. Vēluppiḷḷai, however, has read the letters concerned as *eḻunāṭan*. His translation of the text runs: "...a sacred perpetual lamp endowed by Kaṇṭaṉ Yakkaṉ of the Cōḻa country..."[245] But his decipherment of the word and the translation of the text appear to be incorrect.

The expressions *ēṟāṉāṭum valḷuvanāṭum aṟiyak koṭuttōm* are found in the Kōṭṭayam plates of Vīra Raghava. *ēṟānāṭu* and *valluvanāṭu* are old names of the two talukas, Ēṟanāṭu and Valluvanāṭu of the Malabar district of Kēraḷam. Yakkaṉ was from *ēṟānāṭu*, a territorial unit in the Cēra kingdom. The Kōṭṭayam plates of Vīra Rakavaṉ suggest that ĒĒṟānāṭu was a part of the kingdom of Vēṇāṭu and was on the Malabar Coast.[246] It may, therefore, be inferred that Yakkaṉ was a warrior of Malayāḷam extraction serving in a Cōḻa army posted somewhere on the island.

The scrutiny of the description of the few donors whose names are preserved in the inscriptions seems to reveal that the Rājārajap-perumpaḷḷi was patronized by Tamils who held positions of influence during the eleventh century. Some of them were natives of the locality while the others had gone there from South India. Among them there were individuals who held positions in the Cōḻa armies and administration. The endowments consisted in most cases of lamps, cows, buffaloes and money, and these were made for the specific purpose of burning "perpetual lamps", *tiru nantāviḷakku*, at the shrine of the *perumpaḷḷi*. The details pertaining to the endowments may be tabulated here:

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[243] *SII 4*, p. 496.
[244] Loc.cit.
[245] Vēluppiḷḷai, "Four More Inscriptions...", pp. 88–92 His translation of the text reads: "A sacred perpetual lamp endowed by Kaṇṭan Yakkan of the Cōḻa country". Vide *CTI* 1, p. 17.
[246] *ET* 1, p. 50; *CTI* I, p. 17; Venkayya, "Kottayam Plates of Vira Raghava", p. 295.

| Regnal year | Name of donor | Items endowed |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Not stated | Palavan Putukkuṭi-uṭaiyān Satyāśrayan Ātiṭitap pēraraiyan | *nantāviḷakku* 1, cows 84 |
| 2. Rājendra Cōḻa, 12th Year (1026 AD.) | Kōlattu Taṟiyanaṉ Pūvaṇa tēvaṉ? | *nantāviḷakku* 1, 4 *kācu;* the *caṅkattār* were to supply oil for burning the lamp. |
| 3. Rājendra Cōḻa [247] 15th Year (1014–1044 AD.) | Not known. | cows 35, buffaloes 5. |
| 4. Rājendra Cōḻa 25th Year (1039 AD.). | Kāyāṅku-uṭaiyāṉ *paṇimakan*ṉAmutaṉ Cāttan. | *nantāviḷakku* 1, cows 10, buffaloes 10. |
| 5. On a Thursday when star was *pūcam*; other details lost. | Name lost. | *Tārānilai viḷakku* the 1, of the length of a *cāṇ* and 4 inches |
| 6. Not recorded. | Eṟānāṭaṉ Kaṇṭaṉ Yakkaṉ. | *nantāviḷakku* 1 |

As can be seen from the items listed here, the donations, in most cases, consisted of lamps and cattle. They were made for the purpose of burning perpetual lamps with the view of securing merit for the donors. Making such donations and burning lamps in shrines in this manner was a well established custom during the period under consideration. The two types of lamps, *tirunantāviḷakku*, "sacred eternal lamp", and *tārānilaiviḷakku*, "twilight lamps", are listed among the items of endowments given to Caiva and Vaiṇava shrines in several hundreds of inscriptions in South India. It is also significant that the grants were made to the shrine of the *puttar* attached to the *perumpaḷḷi*. The *puttar* is described as *puttar tēvar* in one of these inscriptions[248] and the tone, tenor and contents of the records suggest that the conceptions the donors had of the *puttar* were somewhat alien to the doctrines of orthodox Theravāda ideology. It may be appropriate to recall here that Nātaṉār kōyil, the name by which the site of Velkam vēram is referred to by the Tamils of the locality in modern times, is reminiscent of the Nātha *dēvālē* in Kandy. Such a description of the site may perhaps be considered as perpetuating, in vague terms, ideas about the character of the *perumpaḷḷi*. The beliefs, rituals and practices associated with the Rājārajap-*perumpaḷḷi* would appear to have been influenced by Mahāyāna and Caivam-Vaiṇavam.

The community of monks, *caṅkattār,* does not figure prominently in these inscriptions. Only a fragmentary inscription seems to record some arrangements made for the supply of alms (*uṇṭikkāka*) for them.[249] Some specified

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[247] Intirapālā recognizes the reference to a certain (Pa)ttaravita Rāman in one of the inscriptions. The relevant portion of the text as deciphered by him runs: *(mā)nā (vat) tuḷakāmattu (pa)ttaravita rāman velkam veramāna rajarājaperum*paḷḷi.. On a close scrutiny of the inscription we find that there is no basis for discovering the name of a person. The proper reading of the text would run: *mānāvattuḷa kāmattu puttāvikāramāna velkam veramāna rājarājaperum*paḷḷi, "the Puttavikāram Rājarājperumpaḷḷi otherwise called Velkam-Veram of Mānāvattuḷakāmam.

[248] *CTI* 2, p. 6.

[249] The relevant portion of the text reads: *ippaḷḷi[cc]aṅkattār viḷakeṇṇaiyu{m}* [*vai*]*ppatākavum.* Vide Indrapala, "Fourteen Cōḻa Inscriptions…", p. 42.

quantities of curd, clarified butter and curry are referred to in this connexion. The units of measurement mentioned in the epigraph (*nāḻi* and *uri*) are the same as the ones referred to in Cōḻa inscriptions both in Īḻam and in India. The inscription recording the endowments of Pūvaṇatēvan states that the *caṅkattār* were to supply oil for burning the lamp provided by him.[250] Such a statement implies that the *caṅkattār* accepted responsibility for the endowment. This impression also presupposes that, generally, all endowments were under their charge. Cows and buffaloes were given to the *perumpaḷḷi* for the purpose of securing a regular supply of the ghee used as fuel for lamps. These animals were normally entrusted to herdsmen on the condition that they provided a stipulated amount of ghee for daily use. The authorities of the *perumpaḷḷi* obviously interacted with sections of the local community in matters concerning endowments, and it is possible that the institution was located in a rural landscape characterised by a predominantly agricultural and pastoral economy.

One of the most interesting finds among the remains of Nātaṉār kōyil is a bronze lamp, now exhibited in the Archaeological Museum at Anurātapuram. That it was donated by a warrior called Yakkaṉ from Ēṟāṇāṭu is clear from the text engraved on its base, which has a diameter of 7.5 inches. It is a small object, 2 ft 6 in. in height, and of the usual variety described in numerous epigraphic records.

## 6.15.3. Architectural Remains

The site of the Rājarājapperumpaḷḷi at Periyakuḷam in the Kaṭṭukkuḷam *pattu* division of the Tirukkōṇamalai district has been covered with jungle since its abandonment centuries ago. The site was marked by a few mounds of which two remain conspicuous in modern times. The two prominent mounds covered the remains of a monastic establishment and a shrine. These were not allowed to remain undisturbed. Treasure hunters had dug up at various points the mound covering the remains of the shrine, and as a consequence of such vandalism even the foundations have been crudely disturbed and valuable archaeological artifacts wantonly destroyed. Besides, some portions of the architectural remains were removed from the site and used for renovation work at the Periyakuḷam tank.

Impressions formed of the *perumpaḷḷi* have to be based on the findings of the excavation conducted by the Archaeological Department, and this has been confined to one of the principal components of the whole omplex, the shrine. The excavated portion of the Rājarājapperumpaḷḷi consists of three buildings—the principal shrine and two subsidiary shrines, *all* of which were enclosed within a *prakāra*, the surrounding wall. We learn that the main shrine faces south and measures 56ft along the longitudinal axis. It is 28ft 7in. wide

[250] Paranavitana, "Archaeological Survey of Ceylon Annual report for 1953", p. G 10.

along the base of the wall at the rear. At a distance of 28ft from the rear, the breadth of the building is reduced to 27ft by a slight inward recess on either side. At the front there is a further recession reducing the breadth to 22ft for a length of 4ft.[251]

The interior of the building consists of five component parts, namely the *garbha gṛha*, an *antarāla*—entresol, a pillared *maṇḍapa*, an outer entresol and a porch in front with a moonstone set in the ground. As the building faced south the flight of steps giving access to the shrine was on the east side. We learn that the walls of the rear part of the shrine are 9ft 6in. thick and that two stone pillars were embedded into the inner face of the brick masonry. The cella which is 9ft 7in. long and 9ft. 5in. wide was paved with slabs of stone. Placed against the rear wall of the cella was a moulded stone pedestal ornamented with a design of lotus petals and figures of lions.[252] The *garbha* stone or *yantra* placed under the pedestal was found to have been broken into fragments. The design of the pedestal and its position in the cella suggest that the building was designed to serve the function of an image house.

The inner *antarāla* occupies an area of 6ft 6in. by 5ft. 9in. and the area of the pillared hall measures 18ft 8in. by 16ft 9in. The foundations of the outer entresol occupies an area of 5ft 9in. by 3ft 8in.

The subsidiary shrines are at the south-western and south-eastern corners of the enclosure. The one to the east is a square in plan, each side measuring externally 16ft 4in. with a projection 2ft wide and 10ft long on the west. Internally the shrine is 8ft square, and there was a lotus pedestal placed against the eastern wall, which at the time of excavation was found to have been relieved of the image it had supported. The corresponding shrine to the west is smaller, being a square measuring 13ft 8in. on each side externally. Internally it is also square in design with sides measuring 7ft. The inner walls of this shrine, which seems to have contained a limestone image, were faced with stone.[253]

Furthermore, the outer gateway of the enclosure on the southern side measures 13ft by 15ft. It has a flight of three steps flanked with balustrades and the passage between two brick walls was paved with stone. On either side of the gateway are two pillared *maṇḍapas* projecting in as well as out of the *prakāra*, but more inwards. Two other structures each 10ft 9in. by 11ft 6in. externally, projected out from the southern *prakāra* on either side of the main entrance. Outside the enclosure to the right as one faces the gateway was a monolithic trough 6ft 9in. by 5ft and 1ft 4in. deep, placed on a pavement.[254]

The *prakāra* which encloses the shrine is of unusual design; the southern side being broader than that on the north. The walls are at a distance of 13ft from the base of the shrine to the east, north and south. We learn that approximately in a line with the outer boundary of the *maṇḍapa*, the eastern as well as

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[251] Ibid., p. G 11.
[252] Loc.cit.
[253] Loc.cit.
[254] Loc.cit.

western sides of the *prakāra* turn at right angles and, after continuing for 16ft, turn at right angles again and continue for 32ft until they meet the *prakāra* on the southern side. A remarkable feature of the shrine is that the entire area within the enclosure is paved with neatly cut stones.

The architectural prototypes of the Rājarājapperumpaḷḷi have not yet been identified. In its design and mode of construction it is a blend of Caiva-Vaiṇava and Buddhist traditions. The mouldings are in the Dravidian style, but the moonstone found in the porch and the stone balustrades at the entrance are adaptations from the models of Buddhist temples found on the island. There are no vestiges of superstructures. The design of the ground plan suggests the adaptation of the form of a Caiva-Vaiṇava kōyil for the requirements of Buddhist ritual and worship. The contemporary South Indian Buddhist paḷḷi were perhaps of a similar model.

## 6.16. Īḻaccōḻappauttam in Tirukkōṇamalai and Anurādhapura

*Peter Schalk*

### 6.16.1. Īḻaccōḻappauttam

By *īḻa(ttu)-c-cōḻa -p-pauttam*, I refer to that special form of Pauttam that was generated during and in the aftermath of the Cōḻa conquest of Īḻam, covering a period roughly from the end of the 10th century to the end of the 13th century. It was Buddhism interpreted by Tamils in Tamiḻ in concepts and sentiments of Caivam and Vaiṇavam. The word *īḻaccōḻappauttam* should be translated as "Buddhism of the Cōḻas in Īḻam".

Īḻaccōḻappauttam was never a static entity, but remained in a process of change. A simple, but clear example of this change is the designation by Buddhist Tamils of a Buddhist *vihāra* as kōyil. A Buddhist *vihāra* is defined and understood in terms of a Vaiṇava or Caiva kōvil. However, a little later, we find the adoption of the word *vihāra* in the Tamiḻ *taṟpavam vēram* (from insular Prakrit *verhāra*?) and *vikāram* (from *vihāra*). This indicated a process of linguistic integration into the community of Sinhala speakers.

### 6.16.2. The Buddhology of the Inscription from the *velka veka(r)ai* as Reflected in Ritual

An inscription from the Velgam Vihāra, close to Periyakuḷam in the Tirukkōṇamalai district, shows a Cōḻa Buddhist influence in two ways. There are the names of the monastery given as *velka veka(r)ai*, which could be read as *taṟpavam* of Velgam Vihāra or Vehāra, and Rājarājapperumpaḷḷi echoing

the Buddhist monastery of Rājarāja in Nākapaṭṭiṉam, and the word *pakavaṉ,* which according to ĀḷvāppiḷḷaiVēluppiḷḷai refers to *bhagavān* as an epithet of the puttar.[255]

After examining an impression of the inscription in Tamiḻ, I cannot agree with his reading of *pakavaṉ*. To me, and also to Kārttikēcu Intirapālā,[256] the reading is *palavaṉ*. *palavaṉ* can be read as a place name preceded by *śrī* corresponding to Tamiḻ *tiru,*as we find in many Tamiḻ place names. This word supports then, it seems, ĀḷvāppiḷḷaiVēluppiḷḷai's own statement that Tamiḻ Pauttar from the Pallava empire had migrated from the Pallava Empire to the district of Tirukkōṇamalai.[257] I do not share the view that these Pallava immigrants were Pauttar, but believe they were Caivar who made Caiva interpretations of a Buddhist surrounding. We should call them Caiva-Pauttar. This is what the following presentation attempts to show.

Let us look at the rest of the inscription which tells us about a ritual performed in the lines 6–9. It is described in Tamiḻ as

*6 rājarājapperumpaḷḷiku*
*7 vaitta nōnta vi*
*8 ḷakku—pacu 80*
*9 4*

There is no controversy about the reading of this part of the inscription.

My translation is:

"...for the Great (Buddhist) Monastery of Rājarāja a perpetual lamp and 84 cows, which have been deposited (by Ātittappēraraiyaṉ...from line 2–3)

ĀḷvāppiḷḷaiVēluppiḷḷai's translation is:
"....Ātittappēraraiyaṉ....granted 84 cows for a perpetual lamp to Rajarajapperumpalli..."[258],

and Intirapālā's translation is:
"....Ātittappēraraiyaṉ granted 1 perpetual lamp and 84 cows to the....Irājarāja-perum-paḷḷi..."[259]

The text uses a verb *vai* meaning here "deposit". The derivation *vaitta* is used as a *peyareccam* referring to the perpetual lamp and to the 84 cows. The text does not say that the 84 cows are *for* the perpetual lamp, which is an inference made by ĀḷvāppiḷḷaiVēluppiḷḷai knowing that melted butter made from cows' milk was used for lamp fuel. His translation gives the extended and reasonable meaning of the text.

There is one inscription from Velgam Vihāra which gives some more de-

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[255] Loc. cit. Veluppillai, "Two Short Inscriptions of Velgam Vihāra", p. 67.
[256] *ET* 1, 1, p. 41
[257] CTI 1, p. 15. Veluppillai, "Two Short Inscriptions…", CTI 1, p. 67.
[258] Veluppillai, "Some New Findings...", p. 418.
[259] *ET 1*, p. 37.

tails about the fuelling of the lamp. It was a metal lamp, two spans and four fingers long, and it should burn daily as a sacred perpetual lamp as long as the Moon and the Sun last.[260] Regarding the contents of the text, it must be pointed out that the keeping and maintenance of cows for butter in order to maintain a perpetually burning lamp refers to a common Caiva ritual, which is well known from South Indian inscriptions from the 6th century onwards.

True, in Buddhist ritual the lamp is also venerated, as is expressed in a famous Buddhist ritual called *pahan pūjā*, "veneration (of the puttar) by a lamp". A small oil lamp of clay is filled with coconut oil and lit using a strip of cloth as a wick. The lighting is accompanied by the recital of a Pāli and a Sinhala *gāthā* recalling the enlightenment of a buddha/budu with whom the *pahana* is identified, but there is not a trace of this thinking in any of the 16 inscriptions from Velgam Vihāra. There, the common Caiva ritual of lighting a *viḷakku*, indicating the cosmic shift from darkness to light achieved by for example for Murukaṉ, has been placed into a Buddhist surrounding without interpretative change. This transference of a Caiva ritual to a Buddhist context was facilitated by the similar function ascribed to the *pahana* and the *viḷakku*, the dispelling of cosmic darkness, and the explicit or implied identification of the lamp with the puttar and the god Murukaṉ. In a Sinhala metaphor, the *pahana* is actually known as *andurupu*, "enemy of darkness".

Further, in the insular history of Buddhism, we find a *doḷos maha pahana*, "a big lamp for twelve (months)", which is the Sinhala way of saying "perpetual lamp". This was not a small clay lamp, but a big metal one standing in the court yard of a *vihāra*. The *doḷos maha pahana* and the *nōnta viḷakku* are then very similar in their appearance and in their ascribed functions, which are made explicit in normative texts.

Let us look at two main texts the age of which is unknown. They are from a Pāli/Sinhala Buddhist and a Tamiḻ Caiva context. Even if the texts are modern, their central idea and the ritual action described are certainly from pre-colonial Caiva (and Buddhist) traditions.

The Buddhist text is given in the manual called *Bauddha Ädahilla*, "Buddhist Confidence", in both Pāli and Sinhala. In Pāli *dīpa* and Sinhala *pahana* are used for "lamp" in the heading *pahan pūjā*, but in the text a Sanskritized form, *pradīpaya,* is used. The Sinhala commentary to this Pali text identifies the *ānisaṃsaya*, "efficacy", of this ritual, which is the *puññam*, "merit".[261]

The Tamiḻ Caiva text is from a manual called *tiruviḷakku vaḻipāṭu*,[262] "The Worship of the Sacred Lamp", and consist of devotional short texts to be recited in front of the lamp, which destroys (cosmic) darkness and is a implicit representation of Murukaṉ.

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[260] CTI 2. *ET* 1, p. 48.
[261] *Bauddha Ädahilla*, p. 121
[262] *tiru viḷakku viḻapāṭu*, irā. iḷaiyaperumāḷ 1960, pa 22.

[Pāli text]

*ghanasārappa ḍittena dīpena tama dhamūsinā, tilokadīpamū samūbuddhamū pujayāmi tamonudamū.*[263]

"By rejecting darkness with the lamp blazing with swelling strength, I make offering to the Completely Enlightened one of the three worlds, the dispeller of darkness".

[Sinhala paraphrase]

*trailokya pradīpayamāna vū mohandhakāraya vidhavamūs;anaya karannāvū sarvañā rājottamayan vahansē ghanavū anduru vidahana suluvū pradīpā lokayen mama pudami.*[264]

[My translation]

"I make offering with the lamplight, having been endowed with swelling strength, having become like a lamp for the three worlds, having become a destroyer of ignorance and darkness, to the Hon. All-knowing, Royal Highness, dispeller of darkness. "

[Tamiḻ text]

*murukaṉ,*
*murukaṉē! Centil*
*mutalvaṉē! Māyōṉ*
*marukaṉē! Icaṉ makaṉē!*
*orukaimukaṉ! tampiyē*
*niṉīṭaiya taṇṭaikkāl*

*eppoḻutum nampiyē*
*kaitoḻuveṉ nāṉ*
*illaka viḷakkatu iruḷ*
*keṭuppatu*
*collakaviḷakkatu iruḷ*
*keṭuppatu*
*uḷḷatu*
*collaka viḷakkaṭu cōṭi*
*uḷḷaṭu*
*pallaka viḷakkaṭu palarum*
*kāṇpatu*
*nallaka viḷakkatu*
*namaccivāyavē*

[My translation from Tamiḻ]

"Murukaṉ.
O Murukaṉ! O the First of Centil!
O Son-in-law of Mayōn! Son of īcaṉ!
O younger brother of the person with one hand[=Gaṇeśa]! Because of your feet with (tinkling) ankle-ring,
I shall always worship with the hands (folded).
That which is lamp inside the house dispels darkness.
That which is lamp inside the word possesses effulgence.
That which is lamp in many places is seen by many.
That which is lamp in a good heart is Namacivāya."

In a bilingual inscription in Sinhala and Tamiḻ from Laṃkātilaka vihāra, we find that "lamp" is even translated twice as *tiru viḷakku*.[265] The translators could have chosen the *taṟpavam dīpa,* which is not an exclusive Caiva term like *tiru viḷakku*, to prevent undesired associations. Our Pali text above actually uses *dīpa*. But, evidently, the Tamiḻ (Caiva?) translators intended these associations. They saw the Sinhala-Buddhist lamp from the Caiva context of a *tiru viḷakku*.

In this inscription from the 14th century, we can also see the continued

[263] *Bauddha Ädahilla*, p. 121
[264] Loc.cit.
[265] Paranavitana, "Lankatilaka Inscriptions", p. 45.

development of the encounter between Pāli Buddhism, Tamiḻ Buddhism, Mahāyāna, Caivam, Vaiṇavam and a Smārta tradition. It is a syncretistic pantheon from a historical point of view, but it has been formed by "theologians" into a Mahāyāna hierarchic pantheon of divine beings, at the top of which a puttar is seated on a diamond throne and the other divine beings are regarded as aspects of him. Evidently, the inscription makes no ritual distinction between the puttar and the gods because it says that lamps are offered to both.[266] This shows again the easy shift in ritual from the puttar to the gods, this time based on Mahāyāna inclusive thinking. In the case of Velgam Vihāra, however, there is just a Caiva interpretation of the puttar analogous to the interpretation of the puttar as Ayyaṉār. This Caiva interpretation was facilitated by a common concept of *puṇṇiyam* through *tāṉam* in both religions, and the common ritual of lighting a lamp connected with similar mythological associations and identifications.

Laṃkātilaka vihāra represents one formation of Buddhism in the encounter between Caivam and Theravāda-Buddhism, together with the added influence of Mahāyāna, as a systematized Buddhist pantheon. But our inscriptions from Velgam Vihāra only indicate that Buddhism there was incipient Buddhism, which may have replaced an older insular Buddhist tradition at the time of Cōḻa immigration.

The inscription above has consequently to be understood like this: Tamiḻ Caivar founded a *putukkuṭi*, "new settlement", by which the inscription actually characterizes the place, with the additional name *Śri palavaṉ*, making together "Sri Palavaṉ, the new settlement". This settlement was close to the Buddhist monastery which was conceptualised as a Caiva kōvil and not as a Buddhist monastery. The inscription therefore reflects what I have called *cōḻappauttam* in the beginning of a process towards integration into the Buddhist fold. There was a Caiva ritual, the burning of a perpetual lamp, a ritual which could easily be integrated into the Buddhist fold because of a common base of thought and action.

Another inscription from the same place and from the same time supports this view.

| Vēluppiḷḷai's reading and translation[267] | Intirapālā's reading and translation[268] |
|---|---|
| *1. Kō-pparakēcari* | *1. Kōp-Parakēcarī* |
| *2. patmar-āna Srī Rājēndra* | *2. panmarāna Srī Rājendra* |
| *3. Cōḻa tēvarkku yā-* | *3. Cōla-tēvarkku yā-* |
| *4. ṉṭu 12 -ṭāvatil kō* | *4. ṉṭu 12 ṭāvatil Kō-* |
| *5. lattu tūynaṉpū āṉa* | *5. lattu TariyanaṉPūvaṉa-* |

[266] Loc.cit.
[267] *CTI* 1, p. 15. Veluppillai, "Two short Inscriptions...", p. 67.
[268] *ET*, p. 42.

| | |
|---|---|
| *6. .....yaṉvelka vekāra* | *6. (te–)vaṉVelka-ve–rat-* |
| *7. .....ttu te–varkku vaī* | *7. tu Te–va(r)kku vaī* |
| *8. .....ccanaṅtāviḷakku* | *8. cca nontāviḷakku* |
| *9. .....kācu 4 ippatiku* | *9. 1 kācu 4/ Ip-palḷūi* |
| *10. .....bakat tarā viḷa-* | *10. (Ca)ṅkattār viḷa* |
| *11. .....kkeṉṉai ā* | *11. k-eṉṉaiyu[m]* |
| *12. .....yappat—ākavu m* | *12. (vai)ppataṅkavu[m]* |
| "In the twelfth year of King Sri Rājendra Cōḻa deva alias Parakesari Varma...Velgam vihare.....to the deva.....four kacus....thus.....metal lamp—lamp oil....." | "In the 12th year of King Parakēcarī Panmar alias Sri rajendra Cōla-tēvar, Tariynaṉ Pūvaṉa-tevaṉof Kōlam granted 1 perpetual lamp and 4 [kācu] to the Deity of Velka-vēram. May the members of the Order(Saṃgha) in this monastery provide oil for the lamp". |

The readings by these two Tamiḻ scholars differ considerably and so, of course, does the translation. The only way to resolve the "contradictions" is to make a third reading with the impression as a base, but even then, any coherent translation becomes a conjecture.

We understand that a lamp is given and that it is fed with oil and that coins are given to maintain the lamp. But to whom is the lamp given? The text says in line 6–7 that it is given to *tēvar* of Velgam Vihāraya. Who is this *tēvar*?

We should not confuse the *tēvar* mentioned in line 3 with the *tēvar* mentioned in line 7. The *tēvar* in line 3 is Rājēndra Cōḻa. There is nothing unusual about a king being called *tēvar* in a Tamiḻ-Caiva context. Even a Buddhist king like Jayabāhu I, called *ceyapāku* in a Tamiḻ inscription, is called *ceyapāku tēvar*, which is an honorific title in Tamiḻ.

The *tēvar* in line 7 is of course another *tēvar,* and not Rājendra Cōḻa. It is a mythical *tēvar*. In this case we have two choices of interpretation. Either the *tēvar* is the puttar who is regarded and worshipped as a *tēvar* by Caivar, or it is a conventional Caiva or Buddhist deva who is worshipped (alongside but separated from the commemorative veneration of the puttar). In the first case we have no Buddhist thinking at all, but a Caiva interpretation of the personality of the puttar, like the case of the puttar being interpreted as Ayyaṉār.

In the second case, we have the phenomenon of a dual ritual system in Bauddha vihāras in Īḻam, which as a ritual may have got its present form in the encounter between Caivas and Buddhists in Īḻam. In this dual system, the memory of the buddha is venerated with specific commemorative and meditative rituals and the *deva* is worshipped with offerings in a reciprocal relationship.[269] The *deva* complex in this dual system is therefore the door through which the Caivas passed in order to be integrated into the Buddhist fold.

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[269] Schalk,"*The Encounter...*"

It is not possible from this inscription alone to come to a conclusion about which of the alternatives it reflects. Both alternatives show some integration into Buddhism by the mere fact that they take place in a Buddhist Vihāra, but only the second, which separates the puttar and devas, reflects some degree of Buddhist thinking. There are, however, other inscriptions which relate how cattle were donated (for the burning of the perpetual lamp) to the puttar, who thus takes the position of a *deva* in a Caiva world view. In one inscription it is said that five buffaloes (and) 35 cows were deposited (*vaitta*) as merit (*puṇṇiy-attukku*) by a donor for the puttar (*puttaṟku*) of Velgam Vihāra, alias Rājarā-japerumpaḷḷi.[270]

In this inscription, we have to assume that the animals were for the maintenance of the monastery, i.e. the Pautta caṅkam, and assuming this, the text's mentioning of merit rests on a religious base common to Caivas and Buddhists. *Puṇṇiyam* in Tamiḻ, *puṇya* in Sanskrit, *puññam* in Pāli can all be related to the bestowing of *tāṉam* in Tamiḻ, *dāna* in Sanskrit and Pāli, of a gift as a religious endowment. Such a common base was also a bridge leading from Caivam to a conversion to Pauttam in dominantly Pautta surroundings.

What we have to infer from the inscription above, i.e. that a perpetual lamp is offered to the puttar, is made explicit in the following inscription from Velgam Vihāra. It says that there was a sacred perpetual lamp (*tiru nōnta viḷakku*) which was donated (*vaitta*) to a puttar (*puttaṟkku*) of Velgam Vihāra, and that animals also were donated to maintain the lamp.[271]

What we can learn from this inscription together with the others is that there is an oscillation between indicating the deva and the puttar of Velgam Vihāra, that one can be substituted for the other, and further, that a Caiva pattern of theistic worship was applied to the puttar/the deva, in the ritual of maintaining a perpetual lamp.

This interpretation that indicates the Caiva involvement in Buddhist ritual is not surprising if we consider the religious context of the original *irācarācap-perumpaḷḷi* in Nākapaṭṭiṉam as illustrated by the bigger and smaller Leyden plates.[272] On the order of Irācarācaṉ, this paḷḷi was supported by the surrounding villages, but these villages were not specifically defined as villages of Pauttar. On the contrary, we can see that villages of *pirāmaṇār* made up some of the supporting villages. Unfortunately, minor details of the duties and gifts of these villages are not specified, but looking at the paradigm that is constituted by many hundreds of inscriptions from other places, we can safely conclude that these villages also gave perpetual lamps.

In the religious policy of the Cōḻar there was no element of "purifying" the *caṅkam* from Caiva elements. Irācarācaṉ and his son were not like the Aśoka of the *Mahāvaṃsa*. There was a pragmatic aspect in supporting a Buddhist paḷḷi that had a certain amount of prestige. In this case it was a token of good

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[270] *CTI* 1, p. 18. ET 1, p. 44. Veluppillai, "Four More Inscriptions...", p. 91.
[271] *CTI* 1, p. 19. ET 1, p. 45. Veluppillai, "Four More Inscriptions...", p. 91.
[272] *EI* 22 (1933–34), p. 213–281.

relations with the Śailendra-dynasty of Śri Vijaya, which had initiated the building of the paḷḷi.

In the smaller Leyden plates the body of administrators of the Pautta paḷḷi is called *caṅkattār*. That is an exact parallel to the body of administrators of a Civaṉ *kōvil* known as *paṉmahecuvar,* and of a Viṣṇu temple known as *śrīvaiṣṇavār*. This administration gives the impression that any religion, once being supported, was administered in the same way as the official religion of Caivam.

The social context of a Cōḻa Pautta vikāram in South India resembles then the social context of a Buddhist *vihāra* in the part of Cōḻa maṇṭalam called Īḻam. In their own understanding of themselves, these Tamiḻ Buddhists in Tirukkōṇamalai were by origin and culture part of Īḻaccōlamaṇṭalam, and not part of a Buddhist kingdom.

## 6.16.3. Conclusion

By *īḻaccōḻappauttar*, I refer to Tamiḻ Caivar or Vaiṇavar who were in a Pautta vikāram in Īḻam and conducted their Caiva or Vaiṇava rituals, but their object of worship was not Civaṉ or Perumāḷ, but a puttar. They interpreted buddhology in terms of Caivam or Vaiṇavam, placed the puttar into their traditional sectarian pantheon and made him their *iṣṭadevatā*. This process was non-exclusive in doctrine, but selective in ritual. It was a form of authorised henotheism.

A sophisticated Caiva-Vaiṇava henotheistic buddhology is found in the epithets of the puttar on the bronzes of Nākapaṭṭiṉam. Possibly, Buddhists coming to the Velgam Vihāra had already brought their Caiva/Vaiṇava henotheistic buddhology with them. I refer especially to section 6.7. by Civacuppiramaṇiyam Patmanātaṉ where this buddhology in the Īḻam context is additionally highlighted. Such a buddhology should not be related to the pan-Indian integration of the puttar as *avatāra*, because this integration is part of an anti-Buddhist trend.

In the Laṃkātilaka inscription, in the Tamiḻ version, we still find a hangover from a Caiva ritual that has been conserved in certain concepts. These indicate the last flickering of *īḻaccōḻappauttam*.

CHAPTER 7

# Tamiḻ Texts Related to Pauttam

7.1. Presentation and Refutation of Four Schools of Pauttam in the parapakkam of the *civañāṉacittiyār*—Introduction, Transliteration and Translation—7.1.1. Introduction—7.1.2. Text, Transliterated and Translated—7.1.2.1. cauttirāntikaṉ matam, "The School of the Sautrāntika"—7.1.2.2. cauttirāntikaṉ mata maṟutalai, "Refutation of the School of the Sautrāntika"—7.1.2.3. yōkācāraṉ matam, "The School of the Yogācāra"—7.1.2.4. yōkācāraṉ mata maṟutalai, "Refutation of the School of the Yogācāra"—7.1.2.5. māttiyamikaṉ matam, "The school of the Mādhyamika"—7.1.2.6. māttiyāmikaṉ mata maṟutalai, "Refutation of the School of the Mādhyamika" —7.1.2.7. vaipāṭikaṉ matam, "The School of the Vaibhāṣika"—7.1.2.8. vaipāṭikaṉ mata maṟutalai, " Refutation of the School of the Vaibhāṣika"

7.2. The "puttapakavāṉ stanzas" in the *peruntokai*. Text, Transliterated and Translated—7.2.1. Introduction to *puttapakavāṉ*—7.2.2. Texts, Transliterated and Translated

7.3. Texts and Alternative Translations of the Inscriptions on the Pedestals of Bronze Images

## 7.1. Presentation and Refutation of Four Schools of Pauttam in the parapakkam of the *civañāṉacittiyār*—Introduction, Transliteration and Translation

*Āḷvāppiḷḷai Vēluppiḷḷai*

### 7.1.1. Introduction

The *civañāṉacittiyār* by Aruṇanti Civāccāriyār from the 13th century is the most elaborate work among the fourteen *caiva cittānta* works produced in Tamiḻ in Tamiḻakam. Besides the *caṅkaṟpanirākaraṇam* which does not deal with Pauttam, this is the only philosophical work that deals with polemics against other religious schools. The *civañāṉacittiyār* has two sections, *parapakkam*, "the side of the others", dealing with polemics against the other religious schools, and *cupakkam*, "side of the self", presenting its own philosophy. Fourteen other schools are presented and refuted in the *parapakkam*. Four of the fourteen schools are Pautta. They are referred to in the text as *puttar* nālvar, "Four [schools] of the puttar". The word *matam*, Sanskrit *mata*, means "opinion" and refers to school or doctrine. It is not a *camayappirivu*, "sect".

The 14 schools are:

1. *ulōkāyataṉ matam*
2. *cauttirāntikaṉ matam*
3. *yōkācāraṉ matam*
4. *māttiyamikaṉ matam*
5. *vaipāṭikaṉ matam*
6. *nikaṇṭavāti matam*
7. *ācīvikaṉ matam*
8. *paṭṭācāriyaṉ matam*
9. *pirapākaraṉ matam*
10. *cattappiramavāti matam*
11. *māyāvāti matam*
12. *pāṟkaraṉ matam*
13. *nirīcuvara cāṅkiyaṉ matam*
14. *pāñcarāttiraṉ matam*

The presentation and the refutation of the four schools of Pauttam [nos 2–5, between verses 63–143] are found in 78 verses between *ulakāyataṉ matam*, "the school of the Lokāyata" [no 1] and *nikaṇṭavāti matam*, "the school of the Caiṉas" [no 6]. The presentation of the first school of Pauttam appears to begin abruptly. About thirty verses present the first school and about forty verses refute it. The presentation and refutation of the other three schools are very short—possibly because what has been presented and refuted as the first school contains materials, common to all the four schools of Pauttam.[1]

All verses dealing with the presentation and refutation of the four schools of Pauttam have been translated in prose here from a verse form known as *viruttam*. The translator is very much indebted to the following publication: R Gopalakrishnan, "Buddhism", *A Study of Śivajñāna Siddhiyār Parapakkam*.[2]

The line numbers have been introduced by the author of this chapter for the sake of clarity.

## 7.1.2. Text, Transliterated and Translated

### 7.1.2.1. *cauttirāntikaṉ matam*, "The School of the Sautrāntika"

64.

1. *nītiyār vēta nūliṉ neṟiyalā aṟaṅkaḷ nāḷum*
2. *ōtiyōr aintu cīlam uṭaiyarāy uṭala mūṭip*
3. *pōtinīḷ marattiṉ mēvum puttarnāl variṉum vaittuc*
4. *cātitāṉ ilāta koḷkaic cauttirān tikaṉmuṉ cāṟṟum.*

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[1] The Tamiḻ text has been taken from the following publication: *meykaṇṭa cāttiram eṇa vaḷaṅkum cittānta cāttiram patiṉāṉku mūlamum uraiyum*, pa. 300–342; pā 64–142.

[2] Gopalakrishnan, "Buddhism", *A Study of Śivajñāna Siddhiyār Parapakkam*, pp. 26–62.

"Among the four schools of Buddhists who recite daily *aṟam* [*dharma*] which is not the path of the law in the Vedas, who observe the five-fold *cīlam* [*śīlā*], who cover [their] bodies, and who praise and sit under the wide bodhi tree, the *cauttirāntikaṉ* who subscribes *to cātitāṉ ilāta*, 'no caste' tenet, will speak first".

65.
1. *muḻutuṇarn tulakiṟ kōṟal mutaṟ ceyal muṉintu maṟṟum*
2. *paḻutilā aruḷi ṉālē paratukka tukka ṉākit*
3. *toḻutuvā ṉavarum pōṟṟat tolpiṭa kaṅka ḷāṉa*
4. *vaḻuvilā kamaṅkaḷ coṉṉa mātavaṉ nāta ṉāvāṉ.*

"The Sage who realized everything in the world, who condemned evils like killing, etc, who through his infinite *aruḷ*, compassion', grieves over the grief of others, and who taught the blemishless *āgamas* which are the ancient *piṭakas*, praised and worshipped by the celestials, is the Lord".

66.
1. *maruviya aḷavai kāṭci māṉamen ṟiraṇṭi vaṟṟāl*
2. *karutiya poruḷkaḷ ñāṉa ñēyamāyk kaṇattiṟ paṅkam*
3. *varumuru aruvam vīṭu vaḻakkeṉa nāṉka tākit*
4. *tarumavai oṉṟi raṇṭāyt tāṉvirin teṭṭiṉāmē.*

"The means of knowledge accepted in the *piṭakas* are perception and inference. These involve the subject and object of knowledge which undergo change every moment. The latter two divide themselves into four as *uru*, *form'*, *aruvam*, -'formlessness', *vīṭu*, 'release', and *vaḻakku*, 'convention'. Each one of these divide into two, making up eight".

67.
1. *uruiyal pūta mōṭaṅ kupā tāya rūpa mākum*
2. *aruiyal cittam kaṉmam eṉ ṟiraṇ ṭākum vīṭṭiṉ*
3. *maruviyal kuṟṟam kanta meṉavaḻaṅ kiṭumva ḻakkiṉ*
4. *iruiyal uḷḷa tōṭaṅ killatām iyampuṅ kālē.*

"To narrate, the nature of *uru* [*rūpa*, 'form'] is two, *pūtarūpam*[*bhūtarūpa*] and *upātāṉarūpam* [*upādānarūpa*]; the nature of *aru*[*rūpa*] is two, *cittam* and *kaṉmam*[*karman*]; the intrinsic nature of *vīṭu* [*mokṣa*, *release*] is two, *kuṟṟam* [impurity] and *kantam* [*skandha*]; there are two kinds of *vaḻakku* [conventions], truth and falsity".

68.
1. *maṉpuṉal aṉalkāl pūtam valikantam iratam vaṉṉam*
2. *eṇṭarum upātā ṉamtā ṉivaiiru nāṉkuṅ kūṭi*
3. *uṇṭoru poruḷu rūpam uṟupulaṉ upāṅka mōṭak*
4. *kaṇṭatu cittam kaṉmam naṉṟutī teṉṟal kāṇē*

"The *pūtavuru* [belongs to] earth, water, fire and wind. The *upātāṉam* can be counted as strength, smell, taste and colour. When the two sets of four combine, forms emerge. *cittam* perceives sensations through senses. *kaṉmam* is responsible for the analysis of good and bad [by the mind]".

69.
1. *kuṟṟavī ṭarāka māti kuṇaṅkaḷaik kuṟaitta lākum*
2. *maṟṟavī ṭuruva māti aintaiyu māytta lākum*
3. *coṟṟarun tokaito ṭarcci mikutturai yeṉṟu mūṉṟāy*
4. *uṟṟiṭum vaḻakki raṇṭum oṉṟumūṉ ṟāki āṟām.*

"Emancipation from faults occurs after the annihilation of passion, etc. The *kanta vīṭu* is attained when one subdues totally the influence of the five *kantam*. The two beliefs of right and wrong are divided each into *tokai*, 'aggregation', *toṭarcci*, 'succession', and *mikutturai*, 'annihilation' into three, making up six".

70.
1. *oruvaṉeṉ ṟōtap paṭṭāṉ uruvāti aintum kūṭi*
2. *varupava ṉeṉṟu raittal tokaiyuṇmai vaḻakka tākum*
3. *uruvamaṅ kāti yāya aintaiyum oruvaṉ iṉṟu*
4. *taruvatu tokai yiṉiṉmai vaḻakka tāñcāṟṟuṅ kālē.*

"To narrate, when a man is considered as a mere aggregate of the five *kantam*, it is *tokaiyuṇmai vaḻakku*, 'right belief of aggregation'; when a man is considered not as an aggregate of the five, it is *tokaiyiṉmai vaḻakku*, 'wrong belief of aggregation of *kantam'*.

71.
1. *kāraṇa kāri yattiṉ toṭarcciyāyk kāla mūṉṟiṉ*
2. *cōrvaṟat tōṉṟum keṭṭu vaḻiyeṉkai toṭarcciyuṇmai*
3. *ōrtariṉ oruva ṉēek kālattum uḷḷā ṉeṉṟu*
4. *tērvatu toṭarc ciyiṉmai vaḻakka tāmceppuṅ kālē.*

"To state analytically, *toṭarcciyuṇmai vaḻakku*, 'the right belief of succession' consists of the continuation of cause and effect, free from the delusion of the three dimensions of time [as past, present and future]; *toṭarcciyiṉmai vaḻakku*, 'the wrong belief of succession', asserts that a creator exists forever passing through cause and effect".

72.
1. *tōṟṟiya poruḷka ḷellām nācamām eṉṟu collum*
2. *māṟṟamuṉ ṉuraittal maṟṟai mikutturai vaḻakki ṉuṇmai*
3. *pōṟṟiya poruḷkaṇ kaṭkup pōṉatu pōl mutirntu*
4. *vēṟṟumaip paṭṭa teṉkai mikutturai ilvaḻakkē.*

"*mikutturaiyuṇmai vaḻakku*, 'the right belief of annihilation', is to answer first that all existing things are bound to perish; *mikutturaiyiṉmai vaḻakku*, 'the wrong belief of annihilation', is to state that cherished objects continue to exist without perishing, an effect caused by maturing and differentiation".

73.
1. *uḷvaḻakk kilva ḻakkuḷ ḷatucārnta uḷva ḻakkōṭ*
2. *uḷḷatu cārnta iṉmai vaḻakkuṭaṉ iṉmai cārnta*
3. *uḷvaḻak kiṉmai cārnta ilvaḻak keṉṟō rāṟām*
4. *uḷvaḻakk uḷatu ṇteṉkai muyaṟkō ṭiṉṟilva ḻakkē.*

"In addition to right belief and wrong belief, *uḷḷatu cārnta uḷvaḻakku*, 'right belief associated with truth'; *uḷḷatu cārnta ilvaḻakku*, 'wrong belief associated with truth'; *illatu cārnta uḷ vaḻakku*, 'right belief associated with falsity' and *illatu cārnta il vaḻakku*, 'wrong belief associated with falsity' make up six. Stating that an existing thing exists is right belief. Stating that hares have non-existent horns is wrong belief".

74.
1. *uṇarvucārn tuṇarvu tikkai yuḷḷatu cārnta vuṇmai*
2. *uṇarvupi ṉiṉṟā meṉkai yuḷḷatu cārnta iṉmai*
3. *uṇarvumuṉ piṉṟit tōṉṟal illatu cārnta vuṇmai*
4. *uṇariṉil latucā riṉmai uḷḷaṅkai urōma nāṇē.*

"To say that knowledge is born from mere contact is right belief associated with truth; to hold that [if knowledge perishes] no fresh one arises in its place is wrong belief associated with truth; to hold that previously there was no knowledge, but that it arises afterwards is right belief associated with falsity; to say that hair grows on the palm and there is a rope made out of it is wrong belief associated with falsity".

75.
1. *coṉṉanāl vakaiyu miṉṟic colliṭum poruḷka ḷellām*
2. *eṉṉaiyō aṟiki lōmpit tēṟiyō vāṉam āṉmā*
3. *maṉṉukā laṅkaṭikku maṉamuṭaṉ vākki ṟantiṭṭ*
4. *uṉṉumōr iṟaiyum uṇteṉ ṟuraippatu nitta maṉṟē.*

"Other than the mentioned four [such as form, formless, liberation and convention] and their expansion which may be due to craziness, people speak about space, soul, times, cardinal points and a lord who transcends our intellect and speech. We cannot understand how they speak out. All of them are impermanent".

76.
1. *īṅkuvāṉ ceyaṟku vārā iyampiya poruḷka ḷellām*
2. *tāṅkuvāṉ uḷatē yeṉṉil tarittiṭā taruva mātal*
3. *ōṅkuvāṉ ōcaik kāti yeṉilataṅ kuruviṉ kūṭṭam*
4. *nīṅkuvā ṉiṉṟi eṅkum niṉṟatēl eṅku miṉṟē*

"Here, space is not suitable for human habitation; even if it is asserted that space is the support for products of the four elements, it cannot be so because it is formless; if space is postulated for production of sound, no sound can be produced apart from bodies with form; if space is said to be everywhere, it can be assumed that it is nowhere".

77.
1. *pōtamuṇ ṭuyirkaṭ keṉṉil vāyilaim pulaṉum nūlum*
2. *āytaliṉ ṟoṭṭut tīṭṭuk kalappiṉil aṟiyu meṉṉil*
3. *ētamuṇ ṭiraviṟ paccai civappuṭaṉ ēynta pōtu*
4. *kētaniṉ ṟeṉṉō eṉṉum aiyamuṇ kiṭatta lālē.*

"If a human soul is said to possess knowledge, then why should we pursue knowledge through the senses, sensations and scriptures? If you argue that the soul unites with the senses and studies the scriptures to acquire knowledge, why is a man in doubt whether something is red or green in the dark?"

78.
1. *aṟintiṭā vāyi liṉṟēl aṟiviṉṟām aintum paṟṟi*
2. *aṟintiṭum aṟivuṇ ṭeṉṉil aintiṉum aṟivoṉ ṟāka*
3. *aṟintiṭa vēṇṭum cārpiṉ aṟintiṭu meṉṉil uṉṉai*
4. *aṟintilōm putta ṉeṉṟiṅ kaḷakitu coṉṉa vāṟē.*

"If it is argued that the soul knows nothing in the absence of the senses and that the soul understands in union with the senses, the knowledge through the five senses must be given to one sense itself. If it is argued that the soul cognises everything in collaboration with the senses, thus depending on them, then such a view is akin to the Buddhist view. To say that the soul knows is ridiculous".

79.
1. *ñāṉañē yaṅka ḷaṉṟi ñātiru eṉṟu colla*
2. *āṉatiṅ kaṟivō aṉṟō aṉṟeṉil avaṉi pōlum*
3. *tāṉatiṅ kaṟivē eṉṉil camaintiṭu naṉpa ruppup*
4. *pōṉaka mataṟkut tāṉē kaṟiyeṉap pukaṉṟa tāmē.*

"If in addition to knowledge and the object of knowledge, a knower is postulated, is that knower sentient or insentient? If insentient, the knower is equated with earth. If it is asserted that it is sentient, it is like saying well cooked *paruppu pōṉakam*, 'dhal rice' is itself curry for it".

80.
1. *uyiriṉai aruva teṉṉil uruvuṭaṉ uṟṟu nillāt*
2. *uyiriṉai uruva teṉṉil uṭaliṉil uṭala ṭaṅkāt*
3. *uyiriṉai aṇuva teṉṉil uṭalpala tuvāra mōṭum*
4. *uyiriṉai nitta meṉṉil uṇarvuta yānta miṉṟē.*

"If the soul is formless, it will not be attached to a body with form. If it has a form, then it cannot be contained in another body. If it is *aṇu*, 'an atom', it will pass away through many holes in the body. If it is *nittam*, 'eternal', then consciousness has neither appearance nor disappearance".

81.
1. *eṅkumāy niṉṟa tāṉmā eṉṟiṭiṉ eṅkum iṉṟām*
2. *taṅkiṭu niṟaivu tattam carīraṅkaḷ tōṟu meṉṉiṉ*
3. *maṅkiṭum uṭalat tōṭē vaṭiviṉil ōriṭattē*
4. *aṅkatu niṉṟa teṉṉil aṭimuṭi aṟiviṉ ṟāmē.*

"If one soul is claimed to be omnipresent, it cannot be so anywhere [since there are bodily differences and our knowledge does not extend everywhere.] If a soul pervades each body, then when the body decomposes it should perish. If the soul is located in a part of the body as knower, it cannot know the bottom and top [of the body]".

82.
1. *cāṟṟiya kālam iṅkut taṅkiya vāṟi teṉṉai*
2. *tōṟṟuvit taḷittup pōkkum toḻilavai kāla meṉṉil*
3. *pōṟṟiya poruḷil pukkup piṇaṅkiṭum poruṭpiṉ iṉṟām*
4. *tēṟṟiya ivvaḻakkut tiraviyat tiyalpi ṉāmē.*

"How does [the concept of] time mentioned [before] fare here? If it is held that the creation, preservation and destruction of things constitute time, time will become confused with the objects [in connection with the three dimensions of time]. When the objects perish, time should also cease to exist. The nature of time [as constituting three kinds] is clearly a wrong belief".

83.
1. *eṉakkunī kiḻakki runtā yākiṉmēṟ keṉṟā yeṉpāl*
2. *eṉakkumēṟ kiruntāṉ eṉpāṟ kiḻakkeṉa iyampun tikkut*
3. *taṉakkunām koḷva teppāl cāṟṟiṭāy ilva ḻakkut*
4. *taṉakkuḷa tākum uṇmai tāṉila tāku maṉṟē.*

"If you sit to the east of me, you will say that I am in the west. He who sits to the west of me will say that I am in the east. Tell [me] how we then determine which is which? The belief in cardinal directions is false, negating the truth of a false belief".

84.
1. *ulakiṉaip paṭaittāṉ eṉṟāy oruvaṉiṅ kuḷḷatāyiṉ*
2. *ulakiṉaip paṭaikka vēṇṭā illaiyēl paṭaikka voṇṇāt*
3. *ulakiṉuk kupātā nantāṉ uḷḷatāyk kāri yattām*
4. *ulakiṉaip paṭaikkil aṅkum uḷatila tāva tuṇṭē.*

"You say that the world has been created by One. If the world pre-existed and then He created [it], it need not have been created. If the world did not pre-exist, it can never have been created. If cause exists and effect disappears, could it be that a thing can both exist and not exist?".

85.
1. *uḷḷatu kaṭāti pōla utippittāṉ eṉṟu raikkiṉ*
2. *meḷḷavē yeṅku niṉṟu vitittaṉaṉ ulakiṉ mītu*
3. *vaḷḷal tāṉniṉṟā ṉeṉṉil vantatām ulaka muṉṉē*
4. *taḷḷiṭā teṅku niṟkiṉ eṅkumuṉ tanta tāmē.*

"If it is argued that He created like [a potter] producing pots, etc. from existing clay, where did He stand and create casually? If it is said that the Compassionate was standing in the world, then the world existed even before Him. If He had been everywhere, "everywhere" should have preceded [Him]".

86.
1. *illatu karuṇai yālē iyaṟṟiṉaṉ iraivaṉ eṉṉil*
2. *kollari uḻuvai nākaṅ kūṟṟamuṅ koṇṭu tōṟṟa*
3. *vallavaṉ karuṇai yeṉṉō valiyiṉāl vēṇṭiṟ ṟellām*
4. *palkavē paṭaittā ṉāyiṟ pittaraip paṇinti ṭāyē.*

"If it is argued that God created the world out of nothing but out of compassion, what is His compassion if He creates also murderous lions, tigers, snakes and death? If He created from [His] strength, so that all living beings could prosper, you might as well bow down to crazy beings".

87.
1. *peṟuvatiṅ keṉpa ṭaittup peṟṟatu viḷaiyāṭ ṭeṉṉil*
2. *ciṟumaḻa viṟaiya tākum ceytiṭum kaṉmat teṉṉiṉ*
3. *uṟuperuṅ kaṉmañ ceyvōr muṉpuḷa rāva ruṇmai*
4. *aṟivuṟiṉ ñāla mellām anātiyeṉ ṟaṟainti ṭāyē.*

"If it is stated that creation is [God's] *viḷaiyāṭṭu*, 'sport', a [playful] child can be God. If *kaṉmam*, necessitated creation, then the doers of *kaṉmam* must have existed before. What is the inference here? If this truth is realized, you will understand that the world is eternal".

88.
1. *uruvoṭu niṉṟā ṉeṉṉiṉ uruvamuṉ paṭaittār vēṇṭum*
2. *uruvavaṉ iccai yeṉṉil ulakelām iccai yākum*
3. *uruvula kattu ḷōrkaṭ kuṟuvatu kaṉmā leṉṉil*
4. *uruvuṭai yōrkaṭ kellām uṟṟatu kaṉmat tāmē.*

"If He had form, this form must have been created by somebody. If He had taken a form due to His will, people of the world could also have taken their

forms through their will. If it is argued that forms for people of the world result from their *kaṉmam*, then it could be that everybody got their form through their *kaṉmam*".

89.
1. *aruveṉil pavatti ṉiṉrum eṭuttiṭāṉ ākā campōl*
2. *maruviṉaṉ niḻalpō leṉṉiṉ maruviṉōrk kākum māṭci*
3. *perukiya aṟivuṇ ṭeṉṟu pēciṭiṉ nēcat tōṭum*
4. *karutiṭa uruvam vēṇṭum illaiyēṟ karuta liṉṟē.*

"If He were without form like space, He never could never save [living beings] from birth; if He stands like shade, then the shade can help those who go near it. If He is said to be omniscient, then a form which is known through devotion is inevitable . Without such a form, no knowledge could exist".

90.
1. *eṅkaḷnūl anāti yāka iṟaivaṉuṇ ṭeṉṉu meṉṉiṉ*
2. *uṅkaḷnūl uraippā riṉṟi ōtuva taḻaki tākum*
3. *aṅkavaṉ taṉṉai nūlkoṇ ṭaṟintaṉam avaṉaik koṇṭē*
4. *iṅkunūl aṟintō meṉṉil ītōrāc cariya māmē.*

"If [you] say that our *nūl*, 'scripture', speaks of God being eternal, it is ridiculous to hold that that scripture appeared without authors. It is simply astounding if you hold both that you came to know Him through the scripture and that you came to know the scripture through Him".

91.
1. *uṟṟeḻu maraṅka ḷāti uyiriṉṟip pūta rūpam*
2. *paṟṟiyip pāriṉ mītu pāṅkiṉāṟ palavu mākip*
3. *puṟṟoṭu mayirkom pāti pōlavē tōṉṟi māyum*
4. *maṟṟuḷa yōṉi kaṭkup payaṉeṉa vaḻaṅku maṉṟē*

"Trees, etc., which grow [from the earth] have no life [intelligence], since they grow and perish and again grow like thick sand, hair and horn, but have forms by means of elements. The reason [for this phenomenon] is that they subserve the needs of other lives and exist eternally".

92.
1. *koṉṟiṭa lākā teṉṟum koṉṟavai koṇṭu nāḷum*
2. *tiṉṟiṭa lāku maṇṇō ṭottiṭum cetta vellām*
3. *oṉṟiya vāca mūṭṭi uṇṇunīr vaitta varkkō*
4. *ceṉṟuniṉ ṟuṇṭa varkkō puṇṇiyam ceppi ṭāyē.*

"Killing should not be done at anytime. As what is dead is like earth [without any feeling of pain], one can eat daily what has already been killed. Tell me who gains merit, whether he who organises [a water pandal with] fragrant drinking water or he who went there and drank water".

93.
1. *ōṅkiya uruva mōṭum vētaṉai kuṟippi ṉōṭum*
2. *tāṅkupā vaṉaiviṅ ñāṉam tāmivai aintuṅ kūṭip*
3. *pāṅkiṉāṟ cantā ṉattiṟ ketuvatu panta tukkam*
4. *āṅkavai poṉṟak kēṭāy aḷivatu mutti yiṉpam.*

"The five [*skandhāḥ* consisting of] *uruvam,vētaṉai*, *kuṟippu*, *pāvaṉai* and *viññāṉam* cause bondage and suffering [and it is wrong belief to hold that] they are not annihilated but are reduced to their cause. Their destruction as total annihilation is *muttiyiṉpam*, 'bliss of liberation'".

94.
1. *aḷittiṭum arāka māti akaṟṟinal laṟaṅkaḷ pūritt*
2. *iḷittiṭum pulaṉkaḷ pōkki iṉpoṭu tuṉpam vāṭṭip*
3. *paḷittiṭāp paḷutil vāḷkkai eṭṭaiyum pārit tellām*
4. *oḷittiṭu ñāṉa cīlam camātiyiṉ uṟuti yāmē.*

"Getting rid of the destructive qualities like lust, sticking to righteous deeds, destroying the afflicting desires of the senses, subduing pleasure and pain, practising the blameless and faultless life in eightfold ways, and giving up all evil doings lead to perfection of *ñāṉacīlam*, 'spiritual knowledge and moral conduct', which will definitely result in *camāti*, 'final release'".

### 7.1.2.2. *cauttirāntikaṉ mata maṟutalai*, "Refutation of the School of the Sautrāntika"

95.
1. *aṉaittiṉaiyum uṇarntāṉem iṟaiva ṉeṉṟiṅkaṟiyātu puttanī aṟaintā yeṉṟum*
2. *aṉaittiṉaiyum aṟintiṭāṉ aḷavi lāmai oṉṟoṉṟā aṉaittiṉaiyum aṟintā ṉeṉṉiṉ*
3. *aṉaittiṉaiyum aḷaviṟanta teṉṉa vēṇṭā aḷavilā ñāṉattāl aṟiviṉ ñāṉam*
4. *aṉaittiṉaiyum aṟiyātu kaṇattil tōṉṟi aḷitalāl aṟintamaiyiṉ ṟāku maṉṟē.*

"Oh, Buddhist, due to ignorance you state that your Lord realized everything. Rarely can one realize the immeasurable universe and if it is said that [the Budddha] realized one by one, then the universe should be measurable. If He knew it due to his limitless wisdom, then His wisdom is not so capable and He could not know everything, because intelligence is momentary and hence it is not omniscient".

96.
1. *cilaporuḷai aṟintavaṟṟiṉ tiṟattē yoṭṭic cintippaṉ epporuḷum eṉṉiṟ ceṉṟu*
2. *palaporulāy oṉṟupala pēta mākip payiṉṟuvaru mātalāṟ pārkku māṟeṉ*
3. *ulakutaṉil oruporuḷaṅ kuṇarum pōtiṉ uṟṟuṇartal ārāytal teḷita luṇṭāy*
4. *nilavumata ṉāluṇarvu paṉmai muṉpiṉ niṉṟiṭā teṉpaiyellām niṉaippa teṅkē.*

"If [you] say that the buddha knows everything after knowing a few things and contemplating in the same direction, then the objects of knowledge are manifold and each groups itself into a number of parts; how does one know the

many from the one? While cognising an object in the world, one should have clarity through learning by experience, sense perception and investigation. As you say that conciousness is momentary, how is it possible to have omniscience?"

97.
1. *muttinilam kaṇṭaṟaṅkaḷ moḻintā ṉāyiṉ mutalmuḻutum poṉṟippiṉ moḻinta vaṇṇam*
2. *ottiṭun tēṉṉeykūṭṭi uṇṭiṟantōṉ oruvaṉ ulakiṉilvan titutīteṉ ṟuraittāl okkum*
3. *cettatupiṉ ṉeṉṟuraikkil katiṭil cellāt tēraṉurai nīrperukic ceṉṟā ṟākum*
4. *attiṉaḷa vaṟiyātik karaiyōr tammai yakkaraikkē cellaviṭum ācai yāmē.*

"If [the buddha] has revealed His *dharma* after attaining liberation, it implies that He has annihilated all [five *skandhāḥ*]. But His speech after liberation is like the act of a person who died after consuming honey and ghee, but is born again to proclaim that such [a combination] is dangerous. If it is argued that He died later, He knew nothing of liberation. His utterances are like the attempt of a person who tries to bring people ashore on the other side without knowing that the river is in spate".

98.
1. *nīrpōla niṉṟuyirkaṭ kaḷitti ṭātē neruppāya tuyarppiṟappiṉ nikaḻntu niṉṟu*
2. *pārōruk kaḷittapaṭi valaiyiṟ paṭṭa palakalaimāṉ kaṇṭorunīḷ kalaipāyn tōṭi*
3. *nērēceṉ ṟavvvalaikkē nērntā lokkum nīlpāvak kuḻiyilviḻu nīrmai yākum*
4. *ārōviṅ kavaṉoppār aṟattaiyākkap piṟantaṟamāk kiṉaṉeṉṉil aṭaṅka vāmē.*

"Instead of redeeming living beings by enlivening them like water, He undergoes the fiery ordeal of miserable birth and redresses the [agonies of] His fellowmen of the earth. This resembles the attitude of a deer, which having witnessed its kind being caught in a net, attempts to save them but is itsef caught in the net. None can equal Him who has shown the pathway to *pāvakkuḻi*, 'hell'. If He was born to establish [*dharma*], and established *dharma*, then [this could be postulated] to include all beings [other than Him]".

99.
1. *alakiṟanta yōṉikaḷil pukunta tellām aṟattaiaḷit tiṭaveṉṉil avaṟṟi ṉellām*
2. *nilavuvatu kaṉmattā lāku maṉṟi niṉaintatōr iccaiyiṉāl nikaḻntāṉākil*
3. *ulakutaṉi luḷḷōrkkum atuvē yākum oruttivayiṟ ṟiṉiliruntaṅ kutaran taḷḷit*
4. *talamatilvan tāṉeṉṉil tāyaikkoṉṟāṉ tarumattai yiṉṟeṉakkuc cāṟṟi ṭēlē.*

"If it is argued that He entered into an endless number of wombs for the propagation of *dharma*, such embodiments are caused by *kaṉmam*. If it is stated that it was His will [to preach *dharma*], then that can be said about everything in the world. If you say that He was born by tearing off her belly where He had been, don't tell me the *dharma* of a matricide".

100.
1. *ariyiṉoṭu nariuḻuvai āti yāka āṉapō taṟantirintu kōṟa lāti*
2. *pariviṉoṭum ceytaṉaṉām illaiyākiṟ pacitaṉakkut tiṉpatavaṉ paḻutai yōtāṉ*
3. *karutilavaṉ paratukka tukka ṉākiṟ kaṇavaṉiḻan tōrkaṭkuṅ kaṇṇi kuttit*
4. *tiriyumavar tuyariṉukkum iraṅku vōṉṟaṉ ceyalaṟattuk kaḻakiyatāñ ceppuṅ kālē.*

"When He was born as a lion, jackal, tiger, etc., He must have deviated from *dharma* and hunted with pleasure. If not, did he appease his hunger by eating straw? If He was considered the sufferer of others' sufferings, it can be answered that his gestures to the sufferings of women without husbands and of hunters who killed birds by means of a noose were ridiculous".

101.
1. *oruporuḷait tēṭiataṟ kuraiyun tēṭi uraippataṉmuṉ uṇarviṟakkum uṉakku nūleṉ*
2. *maruvivaruñ cantāṉa vaḻiyil eṉṉil vāyuraitta tēyuraittu vaḻaṅku mākum*
3. *perukuvatu keṭṭeṉṉil atupō lāmpiṉ pitturaitta taṟiyātu pētai collum*
4. *taruvatunūl epparicu mutalnaṭuvō ṭiṟuti tāṉvirutta miṉṟiyatu cāṟṟi ṭāyē.*

"How can you have a *nūl*, 'book', when before one could find out an idea and then find out words for the same, one's consciousness would have passed away. If you say that it is a series [of ideas], then the same word will be repeated again. If you say that the succeeding intelligence is superior to the preceding one, the previous word will be there [not reflecting the later intelligence]. Hence the ignorant teaching is like the word of a crazy person. Tell [me] how [His] book can be one without inconsistencies at the beginning, middle or end?"

102.
1. *muṉṉākap palaaṟaṅkaḷ pūrittem iṟaivaṉ muḻutuṇarntiṅ karuḷiṉāl uyirkaḷ mutti aṭaiyap*
2. *piṉṉākap piṭakanūl uraittā ṉeṉṟu pēciṉāy ivaṉmuṉpu pēraṟaṅkaḷ purinūl*
3. *coṉṉārār ivaṉaippōṉ muṉṉoruvaṉ eṉṉil avaṉukkuc coṉṉārār eṉattoṭarcci yāki*
4. *aṉṉāypiṉ aṉavattaip paṭumoruvaṉ inṟām ārōuṉ pāḻiyirup pāritaṉai aṟaiyē.*

"You said that your Lord had performed virtuous deeds abundantly and as an omniscient being, out of compassion towards living beings, contributed the *piṭaka* texts for them to attain liberation. Who revealed the book of great virtues to Him? If it is answered that it was somebody like Him, the question can continue infinitum about his predecessor. He could not have known about the truth. Tell [me] who is it that is [being worshipped] in your temple?".

103.
1. *innūlaic coṉṉavaṉtāṉ iṅkiruntā ṉeṉṉil ivaṉirutti yēttumavaṉ eṅkiruntā ṉevaṉō*
2. *annūlō kuruvanta aṭaivumuṉak killai aṭaivutariṉ muṭiviṉkaṇ anāti pōtaṉ*
3. *coṉṉāṉām avaivētā kamaṅka ḷākuñ curukkiyūṉ tavampuriyac colluva tellōrum*
4. *uṉṉūlkaṇ kaḻuvātē utippa taṉmuṉ pulālō ṭuṇpāṉōr ūṉpiriya ṉuraittatoru nūlē.*

"If the author of the book were in your temple, who is the preceptor adored by Him, where does He dwell, where is His book? He has no lineage of preceptors. The books have been revealed by the immortal God during dissolution. They are the Vedas and the Āgamas. All speak of the discipline of food habits and performing penance. Your *piṭaka* book has been authored by a glutton who eats with meat, without washing his face, even before sunrise".

104.
1. *muṉṉūlum vaḻinūlum cārpu nūlum mūṉṟākum ulakattu moḻinta nūlkaḷ*
2. *innūlil uṉṉūliṅ kennūleṉṉil innūlkā ṉeṉṉūleṉ ṟiyampa māṭṭāy*
3. *uṉṉūlum orunūlāy uraippa teṉṉē ulaṭṭunūl paruttinūl cilampi nūlkaḷ*
4. *annūlu mallātē poynnūl koṇṭiṅ kaṟanōṟṟut tirintavā ṟaḻaki tāmē.*

"Books mentioned in the world are either *mutal nūl*, primary work', or *vaḻi nūl*, 'secondary work' and *cārpu nūl*, dependent work. If asked to which category your book belongs, you cannot mention that your work belongs to any [of these categories]. How can your book be considered a book? It is ridiculous [of you] to wander creating *dharma* through a book of lies which is not even of the type of *ulaṇṭu nūl*, silk thread, *parutti nūl*, 'cotton thread' and *cilampi nūlkaḷ*, 'spider nets?'".

105.
1. *puttaṉavaṉ poṉṟakkeṭ ṭuppōṉā ṉeṉṟu pōṟṟu vatiṅkārainī poyttavañcey puttā*
2. *cettavarkkuc cilakiriyai ceyya iṅkuc ceytavarkkum puṇṇiyamāmeṉṟu ceppiṉ*
3. *nittamuyi rātalāṟ palikkuñ ceyti niṉaintutaru vāṉumuḷaṉ uṉakkivvā ṟillai*
4. *vaittacuṭart tīpamaṟa māyntakkā lataṟku maruvutiri neykūṭṭu matikēṭun vaḻakkē.*

"Oh, the Buddhist, who does false penance. Whom would you adore if the buddha had suffered total annihilation? If told that doing rituals for the dead results in merit for them, this means souls are eternal. There should also be a lord who apportions merit for souls. This is unacceptable to the Buddhist. What you do is the stupid act of supplying ghee and wick to a lamp that has been put out".

106.
1. *nūluraittāṉ oruvaṉuḷaṉ eṉranumā ṉattāl nūlkoṇṭiṅ kaṟintāṟpōl nūlā nūliṉ*
2. *pāluraitta poruḷkaḷellām anumāṉa meṉṉiṟ paralōka pātāḷalōkaṅka ḷorucol*
3. *lāluraitta nūliṉṟi aṟaiyāyiṉṟēl avaiyaṟinta paṭiyeṉuṉa tanumāṉa maṉṟē*
4. *mēluraikkum piramāṇa muṉakkillai kāṭci yanumāṉam viṭṭaporuḷ viḷakkuvatā kamamē.*

"If it is asserted that as the existence of an author can be postulated through inference from a book, contents of a book can be known through inference, [you] explain how you came to know, through inference, about heaven and hell. They cannot be known through your inference. You don"t have another authority. It is *ākamam*, 'the scripture' that can explain matters not covered by perception and inference".

107.
1. *epporulum anittameṉa iyampiṭuvai anittam illataṟkō uḷḷataṟkō uḷatilatā ṉataṟkō*
2. *ceppiṭiṉil lataṟkilla teṉṟu millai ceṉṟaṭaiva tuḷḷataṟkēl uḷḷateṉṟu muṇṭām*
3. *appaṭittāṉ uḷatilatām apporuḷuk keṉṉil uḷatilatā kātilatum uḷḷatākā*
4. *tipporuḷuk kanittamilai eṉroṉraik kāṭṭāy eṉiltōṉṟum poruḷniṉṟiṅ kiṟuti yāmē.*

"You say that everything is impermanent. Does impermanence apply to beings, non-beings or *uḷatilatu*, 'beings-non-beings'? If impermanency is postulated for non-beings, then non-beings can never exist; if it is postulated for beings, then what exists exists for ever; if it applies to beings-non-beings, existent beings cannot become non-existent and non-existent beings cannot become existent. If you ask me to point out a permanent object, my reply is that only the outward object [gross material body] exists and then decays".

108.
1. *aṅkuramvit tiṉkēṭṭil tōṉṟumatupōla aṉaitturuvuṅ keṭṭuvaḷi yāku meṉṉiṉ*
2. *aṅkavaṟṟuk kākkakkē ṭaṟaintā yellām anittameṉum uraimaṟantāy arukaṉumā ṉāynī*
3. *iṅkumuḷai yilaimaramāy eḷuntīṇṭic cellā tiṟantatē eḷuntapaṭi nillā teṉṉiṉ*
4. *maṅkiyiṭātēpāla taruṇavirut taiyāy varumvaṭivu tirintuniṉṟu māyuṅ kāṇē.*

"If it is stated that as the sprout appears on the destruction of the seed, forms of all beings appear from their causes, you have stated cause and effect and forgotten your theory of impermanence. You have adopted the Caiṉa view. If it is explained that what appeared as sprout, leaves and tree are not permanent, but undergoing continuous change, then you should accept that the youth, maturity and old age of the body are the modal changes of the permanent soul".

109.
1. *uṭalpūta meṉiṉoṉruk koṉrupakai oṉrā vutiracuk kilameṉṉiṉ marattiṉuḷuk kalli*
2. *ṉiṭamākat tavaḷaiyuru vantavā ṟiyampāy iruviṉaikā ṇeṉiṉviṉaika ḷiraṇṭuruvāy niṟkum*
3. *tiṭamāka vaṉṉamuru veṉiṉuṇṇavuṇṇac ceṉṟuvaḷa ruṅkāyan tēyumuṇarveṉṉiṉ*
4. *maṭavōṉē aruvuṇarviṅ kacētaṉamāy uruvāy vaḷarātu varumillā teṉiṉmalarvāṉ varumē.*

"Oh the idiot! If you claim that bodies are constituted from [a combination of] elements, the latter are opposed to each other. If you assert that bodies are formed from the male sexual fluid and female sexual fluid, [you] explain to me the existence of worms in the trunks of trees and toad in the rock. If they do so from the two *viṉai*, the two *viṉai* exclude each other. If food is the cause, food which leads to growth in youth, allows the body to decay in old age. If bodies are formed by intelligence, the formless intelligence cannot develop into form. If nothingness constitutes the body, the bodies will be like flowers in the sky".

110.
1. *eṉṟumilā toṉriṉṟāy varumuruvam vittiṉ eḻumarampō leṉiṉvitti ṉuṇṭāyniṉ ṟeḻuṅkāṇ*
2. *niṉṟatēl vittiṉmaraṅ kaṇṭatillai yeṉṉiṉ neṟkamukāy nīḷātu nellāyē nīḷum*
3. *oṉṟiloṉṟaṅ kilāmaiyiṉā lutiyākā raṇamperṟ ṟutippatukā riyamatuvu muḷḷatākum*
4. *maṉṟamatik kalaipōlak kanta maintu maruviyuḷa teṉumuraiyum maṟantaṉaiyō iṉṟē.*

"If it is asserted that a non-existent thing can be manifested as an existent thing like a tree arising from a seed, the tree grows from the seed and no tree can be found without arising from a seed. Paddy grows into paddy and not into areca palm. Non-existent cannot become existent as one tree cannot come out of another tree. The seed is the cause while the tree is the effect. Have you forgotten today [your own] view that the five kantaṅkaḷ constitute the body, as the moon and its rays?".

111.
1. *uruvamelām pūtavupā tāya cuttāṭ ṭakavuruva meṉṉiṉ nīulavattukku*
2. *maruvumaṉa lōṭunīr maṇkanta miratam vaṉṉamilai vaṉṉikku vaḷinīrmaṇ vācan*
3. *tarumirata milainīrkkut taḻalkālmaṇ kantan tāṉillait talattiṉukkuc calamaṉalkāl kūṭi*
4. *varuvatilai intiriya viṭayamāṉa māpūtaṅ kaḷumaṟiyāy matiketṭāyē.*

"Oh Fool! If you assert that concrete bodies are formed by means of eight [consisting of] pūtavuru and *upātāṉavuru*, to form air, the other qualities like smell, taste and colour of fire, water, and earth cannot be united; to form fire, the qualities like smell, taste of air, water and earth cannot be united; to form water, the qualities like smell of fire, air and earth cannot be united; to form earth, the qualities of water, fire and air cannot be united. These elements and their qualities are all objects of senses".

112.

1. *marutteṇṇey taṉiṉmaruntu niṉrāṟ pōla maṟaintetṭum cūkkumamāy maruvu meṇṉil*
2. *tiruttumavaṉ maruntenṇey cērttāṟ pōlac cērppavaṉvē ṟuṇṭellā vuruvum eṭṭum*
3. *poruttiyatē lorutaṉmai yāmporuḷkaḷka ḷoṉṟiṉ kuṇamoṉṟiṟ pukātaṟaikai poruḷaṟiyāy pūta*
4. *urupporuḷvē ṟupātāyap poruḷvēṟu kāṭṭā yupātāyam pūtakuṇaṅ kuṇakuṇiyā mulakē.*

"If it is argued that even as medicated oil contains the [extracts of] medical herbs, the eight various forms of matter exist subtly, then a Creator is required like a physician preparing the medicated oil. If these eight constitute the creation of matter, then they should be uniform in kind. One's quality cannot be seen in the other. You don't know what you say. Could you point out how elements and their qualities can be distinguished? The qualities are inherent in the elements and the elements constitute the universe".

113.

1. *aḻintuṇarvai uṇarvutaru meṉiṉaḻinta tākkā tāmuṇarviṟ poruḷviṉaikaḷ aṇaiyā vākum*
2. *aḻintituva tākkiyeṉiṉ muṉṉoru kālattē aṟiviraṇṭu nillātaṅ kaṟakkē tiṉṟi*
3. *aḻintuṇarvai uṇarvutaru meṉiṉṉittā nittam aṭaiyumuṇar vukkanitta māyē cellā*
4. *taḻinteruvai ākkuvatu pōlākku meṉṉiṉ āmporuḷvē ṟaḻintucatti kiṭantākkum avaiyē.*

"If [you] claim that the [preceding moment of] consciousness becomes extinct and generates the [succeeding moment of] consciousness, then what is dead can never create another. The new intelligence cannot know the things and remember past acts. If the old intelligence becomes extinct after creating new intelligence, they cannot co-exist. If it is argued that the old intelligence does not cease completely, but subsists until it creates the new intelligence, then intelligence becomes nittānittam, 'existent and non-existent'. If it is replied that manure decays and then plants grow from it, manure decomposes to become energy and sustains plants".

114.
1. *kēṭilāc cantāṉat tēpalikku meṉṟu kiḷakkumnī cantāṉam nitta mākum*
2. *ōṭunīr pōlaḻintā muṇarvoḻukka meṉṉiṉ oḻukunī riṭṭatellā muṭaṉkaḻital pōlat*
3. *tēṭuporuḷ cīlampā vaṉaikuṟiviṅ ñāṉaṅ ceṉṟavuṇar vōṭēku niṉṟuṇarviṉ ēyā*
4. *nīṭunīr muṉṉoḻukik keṭātuniṟain tōṭu nikaḻuṇarvuṅ kēṭiṉṟi niṟaintuceluṅ kāṇē.*

"If you say [that sentience] emerges due to the succession of ideas, then the association must be eternal. If the instance of the flow of water [in a stream where the old passes away and the new flows in] is cited as resembling the disapperances of intelligence and behaviour, then the contents of the first flow of water will flow away alone and similarly the cīlam, pāvaṉai, kuṟi and viññāṉam will die along with the old intelligence and they can never be united with the new one. If you hold that even as the current of water is a continuous flow, the sentience is also continuous, then this consciousness is also eternal. Realize [this]".

115.
1. *cantāṉaṅ kāraṇamō kāriyamō iraṇṭiṉ taṉmaiyatō kāraṇamuṅ kāriyamum nittam*
2. *vantāruṅ cantāṉat toṭarcciyeṉiṉ ataṟkum varunittan tōṟṟaṟkē ṭaṭaitaliṉmaṟ ṟoṉṟēl*
3. *aintāṉa kantaṅkaḷaṉṟāy nittam aṭaiporuḷām aṟivumaṟi vaṭaivu miṉṟic*
4. *cintāmuṉ piṉṉākip piṉmuṉ ṉākit tirintuvarun tirivaṟintutērā tērē.*

"O Buddhist! Does the idea of uninterrupted succession [of consciousness] refer to the cause or the effect or both? If the cause or the effect, then they are eternal. If as cause and effect, then such manifestation takes place for ever and hence is also eternal. If the consciousness is separate, then it is different from the five kantam and as such it will become an eternal object. Instead of knowing the consciousness as a subject and other things as objects, [you] have reversed the order so that the consciousness becomes the object and the senses, the subject. You should look into this absurdity".

116.
1. *orukālat tuṇarvukeṭṭā meṉiṉ utippī ṟoṉṟām oruporuḷiṉ tirivuṉakkuk kāla māṉāl*
2. *varukāla nikaḻkālaṅ kaḻikāla meṉṟu vaḻaṅkuvateṉ poruḷvaravu nilaikaḻivāl iṉṟēl*
3. *tirikālam ceppiṭāy poruṭceyalu moṉṟām ceyalmūṉṟum orukaṇattē cēru meṉṉil*
4. *tarukāla mūṉṟākum tāmarainū ṟitaḻil taḷḷūci yuṅkāla mūṉṟiṉaiyun tarumē.*

"If it is argued that consciousness perishes and emerges at the same time, then creation and destruction must become one activity. If you say that the changing modes of a thing constitute time, why do you postulate past, present and

future tenses? If there is no time since the object is born, exists and changes, give up speaking about the three tenses. If all the three-fold functions of things take place at one and the same time, even then there are three tenses. Even inserting a needle through one hundred petals of lotus will demonstrate the three tenses".

117.
1. *uṇarvukā raṇamuṇarvuk keṉṉiṉ nittamuṇarvuk kuṇṭākiniṉ ṟuṇarvaiyutip piyātiṅ*
2. *kuṇarvucan tāṉaviṭat toḻintāṟ piṉṉai yuṇṭākā tuṭaluṇarvuk kupātāna meṉṉiṉ*
3. *uṇarvuṭaliṉ iṭaiyaṟā tutikka vēṇṭum uṭaluṇarviṉ viṉaiyiṉāl uṇarvutikku meṉṉil*
4. *uṇarvuviṉai yuḷatoṭuṅkā tuṇarvutaruñ ceyti uṇarvaiviṉai tariṉoruvaṉ ceyalviṉaiyiṉ ṟāmē.*

"If it is contended that one knowledge produces another knowledge, that knowledge will be permanent; it cannot also produce another in succession [due to its momentariness]. If the body is said to create it, such a knowledge should persist continuously. If the function of the senses is said to be the cause of knowledge, then knowledge will never perish. If knowledge causes *viṉai* [karman], then *viṉai* becomes knowledge and there is no such thing as an act of a person".

118.
1. *viṉaiyuṇarvu tarumviṉaiyai uṇarvutaru meṉṟum viḷampiṉṉī uṇarvupōl viṉaiyi ṉukku*
2. *niṉaivuvarum oṉṟaiyoṉṟu nikaḻtti ṭāpiṉ nilaiyiṉmai yānikaḻttik keṭutal ceyyā*
3. *kaṉalviṟakil piṟantataṉaip poṭiceytāṟpōl karuttuviṉai yiṟṟōṉṟik kaḻikkumviṉai yeṉṉiṉ*
4. *muṉamuṇarvu piṟantaḷavē viṉaiketukkum muṉpiṉ utiyātu mukiḻneruppiṉ viṟakutiyā vāṟē.*

"If you say that *viṉai* begets knowledge and knowledge begets *viṉai*, as knowledge [has memory], *viṉai* should also have memory. Due to momentariness, one cannot produce the other and then perish. If it is argued that even as fire produced from a piece of firewood destroys the firewood itself, knowledge, being born from *viṉai* will destroy *viṉai* itself, then as soon as knowledge dawns, it destroys *viṉai* itself and no more can be produced successively. The fire which burns the firewood cannot produce more firewood".

119.
1. *pēyunara karumcurarum piramarumāy ulakiṟ pitāmātā ātāramoṉṟu miṉṟik*
2. *kāyamoṭu tāmvaruvar eṉṟuraippai kāyaṅ kāriyamāy varutaliṉāl kāraṇamuṇ ṭākum*
3. *āyumuṇar vōcutta aṭṭakamō kaṉmam vaṭittatō vaṭivuceytu vaittārum uṇṭō*
4. *āyumuṇar vuṇṭākil aṟaintiṭāy ulakuk kātituṇai nimittakā raṇamaṟiva taṟivē.*

"You say that devils, hell beings, celestial beings and Brahma embody themselves on earth without a father and a mother. But as a body is an effect, then there must be a cause for it. Is that body caused by searching consciousness or *cuttāṭṭakam*, 'eight pure [subtle] forms of matter', or *kaṉmam* or one creator of the form? If you have analytical capacity, you let [me] know. There are primary, instrumental and efficient causes for the world. Realizing this is wisdom".

120.

1. *uruvāti kantaṅkaḷ aintuṅ kūṭi oruvaṉvē ṟoruvaṉilai yeṉṟuraikkum puttā*
2. *uruvāti aintiṉaiyum uṇarpavaṉvē ṟeṉṉa uṇarvumviñ ñāṉameṉṟāy aññāṉam uṇarntavarār*
3. *uruvāti poruḷkāṭṭit taṉaikkāṭṭum cuṭarpōl uṇarvupiṟi tiṉaiyuṇarttit taṉaiyuṇarttu meṉṉiṉ*
4. *uruvāti poruḷiṉaiyum cuṭariṉaiyum kāṇum ulōcaṉampōl uṇarvuporuḷ uṇarvatuvē ṟuṇṭē.*

"Oh the Buddhist who holds that besides the combination of the five *kantam* in a person, there is no separate entity as a personality. When pointed out that the knower of the five must have been another person, you answered that the *viññāṉam* understands these five categories distinctively. When asked who found out about *viññāṉam*, if [you] reply that even as a lamp illumines itself and the objects simultaneously, the *viññāṉam* reveals itself and other things, then, as the eye perceives the lamp and other objects, a soul must be there to realize the *viññāṉam*, and other senses and objects".

121.

1. *kāyamuṭaṉ intiriyam maṉamnāṉ eṉṟu kataṟuvāy kāyamuṟak kattaṟiyā vākum*
2. *vāyilkaḷum appaṭiyi loṉṟaiyoṉṟaṅ kaṟiyā maṉaṅkaṇattiṟ keṭuṅkāla mūṉṟiṉvara vaṟiyāt*
3. *āyumaṟi vākiyuṭal poṟimaṉamūṉṟ ṟaṟintāṅ kavaināṉal lēṇeṉṟum aṟintumaṉat tālē*
4. *ēyumoru poruḷkaruti intiriyap pālē icaivittuk kāyattāl iyaṟṟuvatāṉ māvē.*

"You shout that you are just body, senses and mind. But the body is unaware in sleep. The senses too are incapable of perception in sleep and pervasion. Due to momentariness, the mind cannot perceive the three tenses. There must be an intelligent soul which knows that the body, senses and mind are distinct from "me" and which is conceptualized in the mind, directs the senses and acts through the body."

122.

1. *kaḻintauṇar vēpiṉṉum yāṉaṟintē ṉeṉṟu karutaliṉav vuṇarvaṟinta teṉṉiṉ muṉṉē*
2. *moḻintamoḻi nāṉmoḻintē ṉeṉṟāl vāytāṉ moḻintatō moḻintavaṉvē ṟāṉāṟ pōla*

3. *eḻuntavuṇar vellāṅkoṇ ṭiyāṉaṟintē ṉeṉṟa tetuatukāṇ uyiruṇarvāl vākkāṉ maṟṟai*
4. *oḻintakā yantaṉṉāl uṇarnturaittuc ceytaṅ kuṇarviṉukkum ātāra māyniṟkum uyirē.*

"If [you] assert that what 'I' say is that even as past consciousness conceives that it has a new consciousness later, the [former] consciousness is sufficient, then as the speaker who spoke is different from the mouth which uttered the words, can one say that the mouth spoke? [You] should realize that that which says, 'I know' after knowing by means of the senses is the soul. The soul perceives through the senses, speaks through the mouth and acts through the last body and supports consciousness".

123.
1. *intiriya vītieḻuñ cittamneñcat teḻuñcitta meṉṟiraṇṭu moṉṟuketṭē yoṉṟu*
2. *vanteḻuva teṉilkaṉavil kaṇṭapaṭi naṉaviṉ vāytiṟavār naṉavukaṇṭa paṭikaṉaviṟ kāṇār*
3. *antaṉuru vaṉṉaṅka ḷaṟintiṭā ṉiṉṟēl aṟikaṉavum iṟantuṇarvum aḻintuṟakkam aṭaintāl*
4. *untuvatōr cantāṉa millaiyuṇar utippa uyirkaṉavu naṉaviṉaiyum uṇaruṅ kāṇē.*

"If [you] assert that there are two kinds of consciousness, such as knowledge arising from the function of the senses in succession and that which is born of the mind, and that one comes into existence after the extinction of the other, then a person cannot reveal his dream experience when he wakes up and that person cannot recall reality during his dream. A blind person can never see the form [of other objects] and colours. During deep sleep, there is no function [of the senses] in succession and there is no knowledge of things obtained in waking and dreaming states. Realize that [a soul waking up from sleep] remembers everything in both dream and waking state".

124.
1. *orukālat tōriṭattil ōruṇarvēl cevitāṉ oṉṟuṇarā tiruceviyum uṇarum ōcai*
2. *orukālat tirukaṇṇum iruceviyum maṉamum oruvaṉaikkaṇ ṭavaṉuraikēṭ ṭuṇarntiṭumaim poṟiyum*
3. *orukālum uṇarāvuḷ uṇarviṉṟip poṟikaḷ oṉṟoṉṟā vuṇarvaiuḷ ḷuṇarvaintum uṇarā*
4. *orukālum poṟivikaṟpit tuṇarāvuḷ ḷuṇarvuk kuḷḷatukāṇ vikaṟpamiraṇ ṭummuṇarva tuyirē.*

"If [you] claim that knowledge arises in a single sense at a particular moment only, then a single ear, unlike both ears, cannot perceive sound. At one moment, a person looks at another person with his two eyes, hears him with his two ears and recognises him with his mind. The five external senses have no

perception. What is known by the sense organs independently is not understood by the mind at one and the same moment. The sense organs perceive objects one by one separately. One sense does not perceive what the other perceives. It is only the mind that has discriminatory knowledge. The soul knows everything through the mind and the senses".

125.
1. *aruuṇarvu māyārum mārimāri aṅkaṅkē tōṉṟiyiṭiṉ akattunilai yiṉṟi*
2. *uruviṉoṭu pālataruṇa viruttā vattai uṇṭākā tuṟakkattiṉ uṭaltaṭṭa aḻaippa*
3. *varuvatuṇar veṅkiruntu neñcilirun teṉṉil vāyilviṉai yaṟinteḻuppa āyuaṟi yātām*
4. *tiriyoḻiya iṭiñciltoṭat tīpameḻā aṭakkañ ceṉṟapoḻu tāluṇarvu niṉṟanilai ceppē.*

"If it is held that the formless and conscious mind associates [with the five senses] and [all] the six undergo change every moment, then since the mind is formless, it cannot unite with the body and undergo changes such as infancy, youthfulness and old age. When sleep is disturbed and consciousness regained, from where does his consciousness come? If it is held that it is from the mind that consciousness arises, then that consciousness cannot proceed from the mind and become conscious through the senses. As the wick is pushed into the lamp [and extinguished], the light will also vanish. Tell me, where does consciousness subsist [when a man is] in the condition of a swoon?".

126.
1. *iccaiveṟup piyaṟṟaliṉpat tuṉpamñāṉam ivaiyaṇuviṉ kuṟiyākum ivaṟṟil iccai*
2. *naccinukarn torupaḻattiṉ iṉaṅkaṇṭu muṉpu nāṉṉukarnta kaṉiyiṉiṉa meṉṟu naccal piṉpu*
3. *meccaveṟup pātikaḷum ippaṭiyē yākum ivaimuṉpum piṉpumuṇarn tiṭuta lālē*
4. *niccayakart tāoruva ṉuḷaṉeṉṟu nallōr niṟuttiṭuvar veṟuttiṭuvar niṉṉuṭaiya poruḷē.*

"The soul is characterised by factors such as desire, hatred, effort, pleasure, pain and knowledge. Among these, desire means aspiring for a thing like a fruit, whose taste is already known from experience and whose kind has been identified, and recalling such experience at the present moment as the kind of fruit which I enjoyed. Like hatred, the other qualities also imply similar previous experience. Since the soul experiences past and future, wise people postulate a permanent entity and despise your stand".

127.
1. *epporuṭkum irantaramāy iṭaṅkoṭuttu nīṅkā tiruḷoḷitā ṉaṉṟiiraṇ ṭiṉukkumiṭa vakaiyāy*
2. *oppilkuṇañ cattamatāy vāyuvāti utittoṭuṅka niṟkumvā ṉuyirmuṉṉē coṉṉōm*
3. *ceppituṅkā lampoḻutu nāḷāti yākit tirivitamāyt tīmainaṉmai ceyyun tikkut*
4. *tappilkuṇak kukkuṭakkut teṟkuvaṭak kāti tāṉākit tiriyātē niṉṟupalan tarumē.*

"We have already argued [our case] for [an eternal] soul. Space exists [permanently] as providing room for the movement of objects and is all-pervasive. It is neither darkness nor light, but provides room for both. Its unique attribute is sound. Elements, like air, originate and dissolve in space. The stipulated time has its phases as days, etc., and its periods as three tenses [past, present and future] and does good and evil. The cardinal points, east, west, north and south are also eternal and invariable and yield fruits".

128.
1. *kāriyamāy ulakelām irutta lālē kaṭātikaḷpōl kāriyakart tāvoruvaṉ vēṇṭum*
2. *āriyamāy aṟamporuḷō ṭiṉpavī ṭellām aṟaintuyirkaṭ kaṟivuceyal aḷippatunūl annūl*
3. *kūriyarāy uḷḷavarkaḷ ōtaōtik koṇṭuvara lāṉmuṉṉē kuṟṟa miṉṟic*
4. *cīriyapē raṟivuṭaiyōṉ ceppa vēṇṭum ceyaliṉukkuṅ karivēṇṭuñ civaṉuḷaṉeṉ ṟaṟiyē.*

"As the universe, like pots, etc., exists as an effect, there must have been a creator of the effect. nūl [the scripture] in the Vedic language enunciates aṟam [*dharma*], poruḷ [artha], iṉpam[kāma] and vīṭu[mokṣa] and also teaches about knowledge and duties. As the nūl had been recited and then continued to be recited by sharp clever people, it must have been spoken by a blemishless omniscient being. There must have been a witness for this revelation. You should realize that Civaṉ exists".

129.
1. *maraṅkaḷuyi rallaveṉṟu maṟuttuc coṉṉāy vāṭutalpū rittalāl maraṅkaḷuyi rākum*
2. *tiraṅkunīr peṟātoḻiyiṟ peṟiṟcirattai cērum cīvaṉala eṉiṉulakil cīva ṉellām*
3. *uraṅkoḷva tūṉpeṟiṟ cōrum ūṉpeṟāvēl ularntamara nīrpeṟṟā luyyātuḷ ḷuyirkaḷ*
4. *karantaciṉai muṭṭaikaṭku vāyiliṉṟu vāyil kaṇṭilatēṟ pūttukkāyt teḻalmaraṅkaḷ uyirē.*

"You deny that plants have life. Since trees wither and thrive, they have life. They grow when watered and wither away when not. If [you] argue that they have no life [as they have no consciousness], then all living beings naturally grow when nourished with food and decay without food. Since dead trees do not grow even when watered, trees must have life. Eggs and spawn have life, but no sense organs. If it is claimed that organs appear later when the former hatch, then trees have life [as they] flourish with flowers and fruits".

130.
1. *orumarattiṉ uyiroṉṟēl kompocittu naṭṭāl uyyumuyir oṉṟupala vāmō veṉṉil*
2. *karumarattiṉ vittuvēr kompukoṭi kiḻaṅku kaṇkalantu koḷḷumuyir aṇṭam vērpput*
3. *tarupiṟappuc carāyucaṅkaḷ cananamumpeṟ ṟāṟpōl tāṉaṭaiyum uṟpiccam talanaṭavā veṉṉil*
4. *perunilattil kālilār naṭapparō pētāy piṟappiṉvitam anēkaṅkāṇ pēcuṅ kālē.*

"If [you] argue that one life multiplies into many as each tree is supposed to have a life and as the transplanting of a branch produces another tree, souls enter into seeds, roots, branches, tendrils, bulbs and the eyes of trees, which are their wombs, and are born. If it is argued that lives born of eggs and foetus have the power of locomotion while trees cannot move, can any lame man walk in this huge earth? During debate, [it should be admitted that] there are infinite varieties of creation".

131.

1. *tiṉṉumatu kuṟṟamilai cettateṉum puttā tiṉpaiyeṉak koṉṟuṉakkut tīṟṟiṉarkkup pāvam*
2. *maṉṉuvatuṉ kāraṇattāl tiṉṉā tārkku vataittoṉṟai iṭāmaiyiṉāl vataittavarkkē pāvam*
3. *eṉṉiluṉai yūṭṭiṉarkkup pāvañ cēra eṉṉatavam purikiṉṟāy pulāl kaṭavuṭ kiṭāyō*
4. *uṉṉuṭalam acuciyeṉa nāṇi vēṟōr uṭaluṇṇil acuciyeṉa uṇarntilaikāṇ nīyē.*

"Oh the Buddhist who argues that eating the flesh of the dead is not a sin, sin will accrue to the one who killed and fed you because of you. No one kills an animal and feeds one who does not eat [meat]. If [you] say that sin accrues only to the killer, what kind of penance are you doing to make your feeder sinful? Do you offer flesh to the buddha? You should perceive that you have not realized that you who despise your body as impure have not seen the impurity in eating other bodies".

132.

1. *kuṭainiḻalum kaṇṇāṭic cāyaiyumpōl piṟappuk koḷḷumuṇar veṉṉilkā raṇamaḻiya aḻiyum*
2. *aṭainiḻalpōl kantamaintum aḻiyumuṉak kiṅkē avaiyaḻintāl aruṅkatiyiṉ aṇaiyumuṉar viṉṟām*
3. *iṭaikaṉavil eḻumuṇarvu naṉavuṇarvā ṉārpōl eḻumuṇarvu kaṉmattāl niṉaintukati yeṉṉil*
4. *miṭaiciṉaiyum antaṉumuṭ ṭaiyumuyirviṭ ṭakkāṉ mēvuvateṉ piṟappiṉuṭal viṭātu kaṉma vuṇarvē.*

"If [you] hold that lives take their bodies like the shadow of an umbrella resembles an umbrella, and the image of an object in a mirror reflects the same object, then, if the cause is removed, the effect, as a shadow, is also removed. If the kantam are destroyed, the consciousness which is capable of salvation is also dissolved. If it is argued that the consciousness is generated again from the memory caused by kaṉmam, like dream knowledge flourishing as reality, what is the destiny of the spawn, the eggs and the blind man when their consciousness is worn out? Hence the consciousness of kaṉmam willdoes not leave any body at birth".

133.
1. *aintukantam cantāṉat taḻitalpanta tukkam aṟakkeṭukai muttiyiṉpam eṉṟa-ṟaintāy kantam*
2. *aintumaḻin tālmutti aṇaipavaryā reṉṉa aṇaipavarvē ṟillaiyeṉṟāy ārkkumutti yiṉpam*
3. *aintiṉuṇar viṉukkeṉṉil aḻiyāta uṇarvuṇ ṭākavē avviṭattum uruvāti kantam*
4. *aintumuḷa vāmatuvum panta māki arantaitarum muttiyiṉpam aṟintilaikāṇ nīyē.*

"You have asserted that the experience of bliss in liberation is the annihilation of the five kantam and the destruction of bondage and suffering. When questioned as to who would attain liberation after the destruction of the five kantam, you have also asserted that no one attains liberation after the annihilation of the five kantam. Then, who attains liberation? If it is the consciousness born of the five [kantam], then it cannot perish, and cannot leave its body and there too it evolves into the five. Bondage will arise and cause affliction. You should realize that you have not perceived the bliss of liberation".

134.
1. *anātimutta ṉāypparaṉāy acalaṉā yellā aṟivutoḻil anukkiraka muṭaiyaaraṉ kaṉmam*
2. *nuṉātikamaṟ ṟottaviṭat tēcatti nipāta nuḻaivittu malaṅkaḷellām nuṅka nōkki*
3. *maṉātikara ṇaṅkaḷellām aṭakkit taṉṉai vaḻipaṭunal laṟivaruḷi mākkaruṇaik kaiyāl*
4. *iṉātapiṟap piṉilniṉṟu meṭuttu mārā iṉpa muttik kēvaippaṉ eṅkaḷ mutti yituvē.*

"Araṉ [Civaṉ], who is eternally liberated, the supreme, the immutable, omniscient, omnipotent and gracious comes to those whose good and evil kaṉman are equalized and bestows His grace after the nullification of the impurities and when the mind and the senses are under perfect control. He shows the path of wisdom and bestows eternal bliss. Out of His boundless grace the Lord saves the souls from endless births. This is our concept of liberation".

### 7.1.2.3. *yōkācāraṉ matam*, "The School of the Yogācāra"

135.
1. *pōtamē poruḷāyt tōṉṟum poruḷatāy eḻalāṟ pōtam*
2. *vātaṉai ataṉāṟkūṭi varutalāl vaṭivi lāmai*
3. *ātalāṟ kaṉavē pōlum cakamuḷa taṟivē yāmeṉṟ*
4. *ōtiṉāṉ ōtā ṉāya uṇarviṉāl yōkācāraṉ.*

"The yōkācāraṉ, through his ignorance [of the scripture], states that the world is a dream, and consciousness alone is true because consciousness evolves as the senses and the forms of perception. The intelligence emerges in association with the sense experience and it is also formless. There is only one kind of reality and that is of the nature of consciousness".

### 7.1.2.4. *yōkācāraṉ mata maṟutalai*, "Refutation of the School of the Yogācāra"

136.
1. *pōtamun tavira vēṟōr vātaṉai pukaṉṟāy pōtam*
2. *vātaṉai iraṇṭuṇ ṭeṉṉāy pōtavā taṉaiyum eṉṉiṟ*
3. *kātalāṟ poruḷi ṉōṭu kalantapiṉ eḻuṅka ruttām*
4. *vātaṉai kaṉavu kaṇṭa poruḷiṉmēl varuṅka ruttē.*

"As in addition to intelligence you mention another vātaṉai, 'impressions', why don't you talk of two [concepts] of intelligence and impressions. If intelligence and the impressions are one, when the intelligence is united with the objects in attachment, the impressions draw the intelligence towards these objects. A dream contains objects experienced in waking life".

137.
1. *aṟivatē poruḷa tāyiṉ akamcaṭam eṉṉa vēṇṭum*
2. *piṟiporu ḷākum pētit titampira pañca meṉṉil*
3. *uṟuporuḷ uruvan tōyntāl uṇarvumav vuruvāy niṟkum*
4. *ceṟiporu ḷatuvāy niṟkum teḷipaḷiṅ katuvē pōla.*

"If intelligence is the sole reality, then one has to say 'I am the body'. If intelligence and matter are different, then my intelligence unrelated to matter declares 'I am matter'. When intelligence is united to matter, it will appear as matter itself like the crystal which takes upon itself the colour of the object reflected in it".

### 7.1.2.5. *māttiyamikaṉ matam*, "The school of the Mādhyamika"

138.
1. *avayavam poruḷāyt tōṉṟum avayavam oḻintāṟ piṉṉai*
2. *ivaiporu ḷeṉṉa vēṟoṉ ṟilāmaiyāṟ poruḷkaḷ iṉṟām*
3. *avaiporuḷ ilāmai yālē aṟivumiṉ ṟāku meṉṟu*
4. *navaitaru moḻiyi ṉālē navilumāt tiyami kaṉṟāṉ.*

"The māttiyamikaṉ, through words of blemish, says that the senses appear as the body. When the senses perish, it will become difficult to refer to anything as body and hence there is no body [as substance]. Since there is no body, there is no intelligence [connected with the body]".

### 7.1.2.6. *māttiyāmikaṉ mata maṟutalai*, "Refutation of the School of the Mādhyamika"

139.
1. *kaṭattiṉil avayavaṅkaḷ paṭattiṉil pukāmaṟ kāttum*
2. *paṭattiṉil avayavaṅkaḷ kaṭattiṉiṟ pukāmaṟ koṇṭum*
3. *iṭattiṉil niṟkum ākum avayavi iraṇṭuṅ kūṭi*
4. *uṭaittoru poruḷuṇ ṭākap poruḷumuṇ ṭuṇarvum uṇṭē.*

"The attributes of a pot are not present in a cloth and the attributes of a cloth are not present in a pot. As each substance exists with its respective attributes, both the attributes and the substance must be admitted to unite together to form an object. Both body and soul are real".

140.
1. *karuviyum oḷiyum vēṟu karutiṭuṅ karuttum niṟkap*
2. *poruḷpuṇa rāmai yālē pōtamvan teḻuva tiṉṟām*
3. *maruviṭum poruḷuṇ ṭāka vanteḻum punti yāṉāl*
4. *poruḷuḷa tāku mākap pōtamu muḷḷa tāmē*

"The senses and sensations and objects cannot produce perfect knowledge unless the soul unites with them. If cognition becomes feasible when the soul unites, then it should be that the soul is real. If so, intelligence is also real".

### 7.1.2.7. vaipāṭikaṉ matam, "The School of the Vaibhāṣika"

141.
1. *aricaṉam nūṟu kūṭa varuṇamvan teḻuntāṟ pōla*
2. *viricakam poruḷkaḷ ñāṉam viraviṭa mēvit tōṉṟum*
3. *tericaṉa mituvē yeṉṟu teḷintiṭum tērar vīṭu*
4. *parivoṭum aṭaivī reṉṟu pakarumvai pāṭi kaṉṟāṉ.*

"As [red] colour emerges when saffron and lime are mixed together, worldly objects will be known when perceptive intelligence and the object of perception combine. Be clear that this is [our] religious doctrine. The vaipāṭikaṉ lovingly asserts that those who realize this well will attain liberation".

### 7.1.2.8. vaipāṭikaṉ mata maṟutalai, "Refutation of the School of the Vaibhāṣika"

142.
1. *poruḷatu puṟampa tākum pōtaman tarama tākum*
2. *teruḷiṭiṉ iraṇṭuñ ceṉṟu cērntiṭu māṟa tiṉṟām*
3. *aruvuṇar uruva ñēya mātali ṉāluṅ kūṭā*
4. *uruvaru vuṭaiya vaipā ṭikaṟkiṉi māṟṟam iṉṟē.*

"As the objects of knowledge are external and the knowing subject is internal, hence in the act of knowing they cannot unite. Moreover, they cannot unite eitherbecause knowledge is formless and the objects of knowledge have form. The vaipāṭikaṉ who holds that the form and the formless can unite does not deserve any further refutation".

# 7.2. The "puttapakavāṉ stanzas" in the *peruntokai*. Text, Transliterated and Translated

*Āḷvāppiḷḷai Vēluppiḷḷai*

## 7.2.1. Introduction to *puttapakavāṉ*

The *puttapakavāṉ kavitaikaḷ* here are taken from an anthology called *peruntokai*, "great anthology", compiled by Mu Irākavaiyaṅkār and published by *maturai ttamiḻ ccaṅkam* from Maturai in *yuva āṇṭu* (1935–1936). The anthology is arranged in the following three sections: *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttiyal*, "section on praise of god", *aṟaviyal*, "section on *dharma*", and *poruḷiyal*, "section on wealth". The Tamiḻ word *kaṭavuḷ* is a very broad term and it does not just refer to a personal male god. The founders of Pauttam and Cainam have been referred to as *kaṭavuḷ* in Tamiḻ tradition. Irākavaiyaṅkār has compiled 220 poems in *kaṭavuḷ vāḻttiyal*; of these, 32 poems are on *puttapakavāṉ*.

Irākavaiyaṅkār has indicated his sources for these 32 poems (numbers 184–215 in his anthology), in his footnotes from pages 49–58 of his publication.

184. *maṇimēkalai*, patikam, iṟuti.
185. *yāpparuṅkalavirutti*, 61
186. *vīracōḻiyam*, yāppuppaṭalam, 11, urai
187. *vīracōḻiyam*, yāppuppaṭalam, 11, urai
188. *vīracōḻiyam*, yāppuppaṭalam, 11, urai
189. *yāpparuṅkalavirutti*, 15
190. *tolkāppiyam*, poruḷatikāram, 75, nacciṉārkkiṉiyam; *vīracōḻiyam*, poruṭpaṭalam, 19, urai1
191. *vīracōḻiyam*, poruṭpaṭalam, 19, urai
192. *vīracōḻiyam*, poruṭpaṭalam, 19, urai
193. *yāpparuṅkalavirutti*, 52
194. *vimpacārakatai*
195. *vīracōḻiyam*, yāppuppaṭalam, 3, urai; *kuṇṭalakēci*, kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu
196. *cittāntattokai*
197. *nīlakēci*, camayativākararurai, 199
198. *nīlakēci*, camayativākararurai, 200
199. *vīracōḻiyam*, yāppuppaṭalam, 3, urai
200. *vīracōḻiyam*, yāppuppaṭalam, 3, urai
201. *yāpparuṅkalavirutti*, 53
202. *vīracōḻiyam*, yāppuppaṭalam, 3, urai
203. *vīracōḻiyam*, yāppuppaṭalam, 3, urai
204. *vīracōḻiyam*, yāppuppaṭalam, 3, urai
205. *vīracōḻiyam*, yāppuppaṭalam, 33, urai
206. *vīracōḻiyam*, yāppuppaṭalam, 15, urai
207. *vīracōḻiyam*, alaṅkārappaṭalam, 39, urai

208. *nīlakēci*, camayativākararurai (*maṇimēkalai*, pakkam 368)
209. *vīracōḻiyam*, yāppuppaṭalam, 33, urai
210. *vīracōḻiyam*, yāppuppaṭalam, 33, urai
211. *vīracōḻiyam*, yāppuppaṭalam, 3, urai
212. *vīracōḻiyam*, yāppuppaṭalam, 3, urai
213. *vīracōḻiyam*, yāppuppaṭalam, 33, urai
214. *nīlakēci*, camayativākararurai (*maṇimēkalai*, pakkam 60)
215. *nīlakēci*, camayativākararurai (*maṇimēkalai*, pakkam 125)

Except for the *cittāntattokai* and the *vimpicārakkatai*, the other sources mentioned here are available now in many editions. The available sources belong to the twelfth century AD or earlier. The *cittāntattokai* and the *vimpicārakkatai* were not available even in Irākavaiyaṅkār's time. He must have obtained these two poems- one from each source- from secondary sources, but he has given no references. These poems too appear to belong to a period not later than the twelfth century.

## 7.2.2. Texts, Transliterated and Translated

(184)
1. *ariyēṟu muṉṉuyartta vātiyāṉ vaṇtiṉ*
2. *puriyēṟum pōti niḻaṟkīḻp—periyōṉ*
3. *aṭittā maraimalarai yaṉpōṭuñ ceṉṟu*
4. *piṭittār piṟavār peyarntu*

"Those who caught, with devotion, the lotus flower feet of the Great Man under the bo-tree, where bees in abundance fly, will not be born again. He was the Supreme Being who held aloft the male lion".

(185)
1. *vaṭimalarttār nākar maṇikkavari vīca*
2. *muṭimalarttēm pōtimaiyōr taṉṉaṭikkīḻp peyya*
3. *iṉitiruntu nallaṟañ colliyā ṉellāt*
4. *tuṉiyirunta tuṉpantīrp pāṉ.*

"He who preached dharma, having been seated in comfort, while serpents with beautiful flower garlands were waving auspicious fly-wisks, and while the celestial beings scattered under his feet honey flower buds from their crown, will destroy disgusting distress".

(186)
*(vaṇṇaka vottāḻicai kkalippā)*
1. *tirumēvu patumañ cēr ticaimukaṉē mutalāka*
2. *urumēvi yavataritta vuyiraṉaittu muyakkoḷvāṉ*
3. *ivvulakuṅ kīḻulaku micaiyulaku miruṇīṅka*

4. *evvulakun toḻutētta veḻuntaceḻuñ cuṭareṉṉa*
5. *vilaṅkukati rōriraṇṭum vilaṅkivalaṅ koṇṭulava*
6. *alaṅkuciṅaip pōtiniḻa laṟamamarnta periyōynī (taravu)*

7. *mērukiri yiraṇṭāku meṉappaṇatta virupuyaṅkaṇ*
8. *māraṉitai yāvēṭṭu maṉṉupura maṟuttaṉaiyē* ;

9. *vēṇṭiṉarkku vēṇṭiṉavē yaḷippaṉeṉa mēlaināṭ*
10. *pūṇṭavaru ḷāḷaniṉ pukaḻputitāyk kāṭṭātō* ;

11. *ulakumika maṉantaḷarvuṟ ṟuyarneṟiyōr neṟiyaḻuṅkap*
12. *pulavunacaip peruñciṉattup pulikkuṭampu koṭuttaṉaiyē* ;

13. *pūtalattu ḷevvuyirkkum potuvāya tirumēṉi*
14. *mātavaṉī yeṉpataṟkōr maṟutalaiyāk kāṭṭātō* ;

15. *kaḻalaṭainta vulakaṉaittu māyiravāy kaṭumpāntaḷ*
16. *aḻalaṭianta paṇattiṭaiyiṭ ṭaṉṟutulai yēṟiṉaiyē* ;

17. *marulpārā vatamoṉṟē vāḻvikkak karutiyaniṉ*
18. *aruḷpārā vatavuyirka ḷaṉaittiṟku moṉṟāmō* ; *(tāḻicai)*

19. *aruviṉai cilakeṭa voruperu narakiṭai*
20. *ericuṭar maraimala reṉaviṭu maṭiyiṉai* ;

21. *akaliṭa muḻuvatu maḻalkeṭa vamiḻtumiḻ*
22. *mukilpuri yimiḻicai nikartaru moḻiyiṉai* ; *(arākam)*

23. *aṉpeṉkō voppuraveṉ kōvoruva ṉayilkoṇṭu*
24. *muntiviḻitt teṟiyappāl pōntamuḻuk karuṇaiyai* ;

25. *nāṇeṉkō nākameṉkō naṉṟiyillāṉ pūṇun*
26. *tīyiṉaip pāypaṭutta ciṟutuyilkoṇṭ ṭaruḷiṉai* ; *(īraṭi iraṇṭampōtaraṅkam)*

27. *kainnākat tārkkāḻi kaikkoṇ ṭaḷittaṉaiyē* ;
28. *painnākar kulamuyya vāyamiḻtam pakarntaṉaiyē* ;
29. *irantēṟṟa paṭaiyarakkark kiḻikuruti poḻintaṉaiyē* ;
30. *parantēṟṟa maṟṟavarkkup paṭaruneṟi moḻintaṉaiyē*; *(ōraṭi nāṉk- ampōtaraṅkam)*

31. *eṉavāṅku, (taṉiccol)*

32. *aruḷvīṟ ṟirunta tiruniḻaṟ pōti*
33. *muḻutuṇar muṉivaniṟ paravutun toḻutaka*
34. *orumaṉa meyti yiruviṉaip piṇiviṭṭu*
35. *muppakai kaṭantu nālvakaip poruḷuṇarnt*
36. *tōṅkunī rulakiṭai yāvarum*
37. *nīṅkā viṉpamoṭu nīṭuvāḻ keṉavē. (curitakam)*

"You are the great, seated in *dharma* under the shade of the bo-tree with leaves in motion, while the shining sun and moon move out, circumambulate and stroll about while you, to save all the lives born in various forms beginning with Brahmā who was seated in beautiful lotus, appear like the rising bright sun to be worshipped and praised by all the worlds to remove darkness from this world, the world below and the world above".

"You, who have two muscular shoulders, appearing like two Meru mountains, refused the enduring royal city, endeared and tied, like the sail of a ship by Māra".

"The Merciful One undertook in days past to grant what the needy requested. Will not Your fame be shown to be renewed?"

"While (the people of) the world became depressed and *dharma* of the noble virtuous (people) declined, You gave (your) body to the flesh-loving tiger with great fury".

"Will not (your) Sacred Body, common to all beings throughout the world, illustrate from the other side that You are the Great Sage?"

"You climbed into the scales in days past to protect (living beings)in all the worlds who had taken refuge in (Your) anklets (in Your feet) from a thousand-mouthed angry snake, raising its hood emitting fire".

"You thought of establishing an ethical observance, free from ignorance of right and wrong. Is Your merciful virtuous observance the same for all living beings?"

"You place Your torch like lotus feet in the lowest hell to destroy some powerful *karman*".

"Your language resembles the rythmic noise of rain which pours ambrosia to cool down the heat throughout the wide world".

"Shall (I) describe the full compassion which secreted milk, while another man stared first and threw a spear, as love or as philanthropy?"

"Shall (I) call Your taking a short nap to put down the fire raised by an ungrateful man, as a string or as a snake?"

"You were gracious to the party of celestial beings by handling the wheel.
You spoke the ambrosia of the mouth to save the class of hooded serpents.
You poured your dropping blood to the *rāksaṣa* soldiers who begged and accepted (it).
You preached the appropriate *dharma* to the others who were scattered and receptive".

"As they have been,

We will worship You, the fully enlightened sage under the sacred shade of the bo-tree where mercy was seated majestically, to pray that everybody on the earth, surrounded by water, should attain adorable single mindedness, should be rid of the bond of the two *karman*, should overcome the three enmities and should realize the four truths to enable them to live long with unfailing happiness".

(187)
*(vaṇṇaka vottāḻicai kkalippā)*

1. *pūmakaṉē mutalākap pukuntamara reṇṭicaiyum*
2. *tūmalarā laṭimalarait toḻutirantu viṉaviyanāṭ*
3. *kāmamuṅ kaṭuñciṉamuṅ kaḻippariya mayakkamumāyt*
4. *tīmaicāl kaṭṭiṉukkut tiṟaṟkaruvi yāykkiṭanta*
5. *nāmañcār namarkaḷukku nayappaṭumā ṟiṉituraittuc*
6. *cēmañcār naṉṉeṟikkuc cellumā ṟaruḷiṉaiyē* ; *(āṟaṭi ttaravu)*

7. *tāṉamē mutalākat tacapāra niṟaittaruḷi*
8. *yūṉamoṉ ṟillāmai yoḻiviṉṟi yiyaṟṟiṉaiyē* ;

9. *eṇpattoṉ patucitti yiyalpiṉā luḷaveṉṟu*
10. *paṇpotta nuṇporuḷaip pāraṟiyap pakarntaṉaiyē* ;

11. *tuppiyaṉṟa kuṇattōṭu toḻilkaḷāl vēṟupaṭa*
12. *muppatiṉmē liraṇṭukalai muṟaimaiyāṉ moḻintaṉaiyē* ; *(iraṇṭaṭi mūṉṟu tāḻicai)*

13. *ātiyu miṭaiyiṉō ṭiṟutiyu maṟikuva tamararu muṉivaru marituniṉ ṉilaimai-yai* ;
14. *mītiyal karuṭaṉai viṭavara voṭupakai vitimuṟai keṭavaṟam veḷiyuṟa varuḷiṉai* ;
15. *tītiyal puliyatu pacikeṭu vakainiṉa tiruvuru varuḷiya tiṟamali perumaiyai* ;
16. *pōtiyi ṉaṟamali tiruniḻa latunaṉi polivuṟa vaṭiya riṭarkeṭa varuḷiṉai* ; *(nālaṭi arākam)*

17. *ticaimukaṉ maruviya kamalana ṉiṟameṉa*
18. *vacaiyaṟu muṉivoṭu maliyu niṉṉaṭi* ;

19. *uyarvuṟu perumaiyo ṭayaraṟu mayarvoṭu*
20. *puraiyaṟu nalaṉoṭu poliyu niṉpukaḻ* ; *(īraṭiyiraṇṭāy vanta pēreṇ)*

21. *kaṟpuṭai māraṉaik kāyciṉan tavirttaṉai* ;
22. *poṟpuṭai nākartan tuyaram pōkkiṉai* ;
23. *mīṉuru vāki meymmaiyiṟ paṭintaṉai* ;
24. *māṉuru vāki vāṉkuṇa miyaṟṟiṉai* ; *(ōraṭi nānkāy vanta ciṟṟeṇ)*

25. *eṇṇiṟanta kuṇattōy nīi* ; *yāvarkku mariyōy nīi*;
26. *uṇṇiṟainta varuḷōy nīi* ; *uyarpāra niṟaittōy nīi*;
27. *meypporuḷai yaṟintōy nīi* ; *meyyaṟamiṅ kaḷittōy nīi*;
28. *ceppariya tavattōy nīi* ; *cērvārkkuc cārvu nīi*; *(muccīriṉāl vanta iṭaiyeṇ)*

29. *naṉmai nīi* ; *tiṉmai nīi* ; *naṉavu nīi* ; *kaṉavu nīi* ;
30. *vaṉmai nīi* ; *meṉmai nīi* ; *matiyu nīi* ; *vitiyu nīi* ;
31. *immai nīi* ; *maṟumai nīi* ; *iravu nīi* ; *pakalu nīi* ;
32. *cemmai nīi* ; *karumai nīi* ; *cērvu nīi* ; *cārvu nīi* ; *(irucīr patiṉāṟāy vanta aḷaveṇ)*

33. *eṉavāṅku (taṉiccol)*

34. *aṉaka niṉṟa ṉaṭiyiṇai paravutum*
35. *velpaṭai ttoṇṭaimāṉ viṟaṟcē ṉāpati*
36. *ciṅkaḷat taraiyaṉ veṇkuṭai yataṉoṭu*
37. *poṅkupukaḷ villavaṉ puṟakkoṭai kaṇṭu*
38. *politaru cēntaṉ poṉpaṟṟi kāvalaṉ*
39. *malitaru pārmicai maṉṉuvō ṉeṉavē. (curitakam).*

"When celestial beings from all eight directions, led by Brahmā came and worshipped (Your) feet-flower with clean flowers, entreated and enquired, You preached kindly for the benefit of our scared people, to whose evil bond, lust, wild rage and difficult to remove delusion were serving as strong instruments; You also told them mercifully to proceed on the path of virtue, leading to happiness".

"You performed without end, without any blemish, fulfilling gracefully the ten transcendental virtues, starting with donation".

"You revealed to the knowledge (of the people) of the world, the nature of an abstract matter, as there is a possiblity of eighty-nine miraculous powers".

"You have mentioned in order thirty-two arts, means of attributes as differentiated by activities".

"It is difficult for celestial beings and sages to know the beginning, middle and end of Your standing; You revealed gracefully the *dharma* for destroying the traditional enmity between the flying eagle and poisonous snake; You have the laudable greatness of giving away your sacred body to rid the evil tiger of its hunger; You enabled gracefully the perishing of the distress of (Your) devotees so that the sacred shade of *dharma* flourishing bo-tree could be grand".

"Your feet blossom with faultless saintliness, resembling the good colour of Brahmā"s lotus flower."

"Your fame, with lofty greatness, unforgetable wonder and and blemishless goodness, thrives".

"You rid the determined Māra's boiling rage;
You removed the affliction of elegant snakes;
You appeared as a fish and (still) practised (Your) natural state;
You appeared as a deer and acted with noble quality."

"You have countless attributes; You are unattainable to all;
Your mind is full of compassion; You have complete transcendental virtues;
You have realised the matter of truth; You are gifted with real *dharma*;
You (have performed) indescribable penance; You are a refuge for (your) seekers;"

"You are the good; You are the evil; You are the reality; You are the dream;
You are the strength; You are the weakness; You are the intellect; You are the destiny;
You (provide for) this life; You (provide for) the next life; You are the night; You are the day;
You are the spotlessness; You are the strength; You are the association; You are the refuge;"

"As they have been

We will worship You the Sinless One, your two sacred feet to enable Cēntaṉ, the chieftain of Poṉpaṟṟi to live long in this prosperous world. He is the powerful general of Toṇṭaimāṉ with a victorious army. He is glowing after (capturing) the white umbrella of the Sinhala king and after seeing the defeat of the famous Kēraḷa king.

188.
*(ampōtaraṅka vottāḻicai kkalippā)*
1. *maṇvāḻum palluyirum vāṉvāḻu mimaiyavarum*
2. *kaṇvāḻu mānākar kiḷaiyaṉaittuṅ kaḷikūra*
3. *antaratun tupiyiyaṅka vamararka ṇaṭamāṭa*
4. *intirarpū maḻaipoḻiya vimaiyavarcā maraiyiraṭṭa*
5. *muttaneṭuṅ kuṭainiḻarkīḻ mūriyara cariyacaṇaimēl*
6. *meyttavarkaḷ pōṟṟicappa vīṟṟiruppa voruperiyōy (taravu)*

7. *eṟumpukaṭai yayaṉmutalā veṇṇiṟanta veṉṟuraikkap*
8. *piṟantiṟanta yōṉitōṟum piriyātu cūḻpōki*
9. *evvuṭampi levvuyirkkum yātoṉṟā liṭareytiṉ*
10. *avvuṭampi ṉuyirkkuyirā yaruḷpoḻiyun tiruvuḷḷam;*

11. *aṟaṅkūṟu mulakaṉaittuṅ kuḷirvaḷarkku maḻaimuḻakkiṉ*
12. *tiṟaṅkūṟa varaikatiruñ ceḻuṅkamala naṉināṇa*
13. *orumaikka ṇīroṉpā ṉuraivirippa vuṇarporuḷāl*
14. *arumaikkaṇ malaiviṉṟi yaṭaintatuniṉ ṟiruvārttai;*

15. *irutpāra viṉainīkki yevvuyirkkuṅ kāvaleṉa*
16. *aruṭpāran taṉicumanta vaṉṟumuta liṉṟaḷavum*
17. *matuvoṉṟu malaraṭikkīḻ vantaṭaintōr yāvarkkum*
18. *potuvaṉṟi niṉakkurittō puṇṇiyaniṉ ṟirumēṉi; (ivai mūṉrun tāḻicai)*

19. *āruyirka ḷaṉaittiṉaiyuṅ kāppataṟkē yaruḷpūṇṭāy*
20. *ōruyirkkē yuṭampaḷittā loppuraviṅ keṉṉākum;*

21. *tāmanaṟuṅ kuḻaṉmaḻaikkaṭ ṭaḷiriyalār tammuṉṉark*
22. *kāmaṉaiyē muṉaintulaittāṟ kaṇṇōṭṭam yātāṅkol*; *(pēreṇ)*

23. *pōrarakka rōraivark kaṟavamiḻtam poḻintaṉayē*;
24. *āramiḻta maṇinākar kulamuyya varuḷiṉaiyē*;
25. *vārciṟippuḷ ḷaraiyaṟkum vāymaineṟi pakarntaṉaiyē*;
26. *pārmicai yīraintum pāviṉṟip payiṟṟiṉaiyē*; *(ciṟṟeṇ)*

27. *aruḷāḻi nayantōy nīi*;
28. *aṟavāḻi payantōy nīi*;
29. *maruḷāḻi turantōy nīi*,
30. *maṟaiyāḻi purantōy nīi*;
31. *mātavariṉ mātava nīi*;
32. *vāṉavaruḷ vāṉava ṉīi*,
33. *pōtaṉariṟ pōtaṉa ṉīi*;
34. *puṇṇiyaruṭ puṇṇiya ṉīi*; *(iṭaiyeṇ)*

35. *āti nīi*; *amala ṉīi*; *ayaṉu nīi*; *ariyu nīi*;
36. *cōti nīi*; *nāta ṉīi*; *tuṟaiva ṉīi*; *iṟaiva ṉīi*;
37. *aruḷu nīi*; *poruḷu nīi*; *aṟiva ṉīi*; *aṉaka ṉīi*;
38. *teruḷu nīi*; *tiruvu nīi*; *ceṟivu nīi*; *cemma ṉīi*; *(iṭaiyeṇ)*

39. *eṉavāṅku (taṉiccol)*

40. *pavaḷac ceḻuñcuṭar marakatap pācaṭaip*
41. *pacumpoṉ māccinai vicumpakam putaikkum*
42. *pōtiyan tiruniḻaṟ puṉitaniṟ paravutum*
43. *mētaku nanti purimaṉṉar cuntarac*
44. *cōḻar vaṇmaiyum vaṉappum*
45. *tiṇmaiyu mulakiṟ ciṟantuvāḻ keṉavē. (curitakam)*

"While the many lives existing on the earth, the celestial beings living in the sky, and the entire groups of great snakes living in orifices were rejoicing, while the large kettle-drums of a class of demi-gods were stirring, while the celestials were dancing, while Indras were pouring flower-rain, and while the devas were whisking fly-whisks, You, the Great, sat majestically, on the throne of strong kings, under the shade of a tall pearl umbrella, as true sages were reciting your praises."

"The sacred heart which moves about closely without being away from every form of life, (involving) birth-death, said to be numerous, starting from Brahmā and ending in ants. If any life in any body suffers distress from anything, (it) pours mercy, (functioning) as the life of the body."

"While the entire world, proclaiming *dharma*, was praising the excellence of the thundery rain developing coolness, and while the red lotus (flower) was

behaving very shyly towards the proposing sun. Your Sacred Word came down without bewilderment as a rarity, as the realization from nine interpretations of the state of final emancipation."

"From the timewhen (You) the Holy Being, by Yourself, started bearing the weight of mercy to remove the dark burden of karman and to protect all life, till now, Your Sacred Body belongs not to you; it is common to everybody who has proceeded to reach below (Your) honey-bearing flower feet."

"You have practised compassion to protect entire rare lives. If (You) give Your Body (as food) to one life, what happens to (Your) philanthropy?"

"If (You) fight and suppress the Cupid before sprout-like women with flower-fragrant curling hair and cool eyes, what do (You) mean by kindness?"

"You poured the ambrosia of *dharma* to the five fighting *rākṣasas*. You saved mercifully the cobras who possessed jewels and who (lived) in deep orifices. You preached the true *dharma* even to the king of birds with big wings. You taught the complete ten transcendental virtues."

"It was You who longed for the ocean of compassion;
It was You who begot the *dharmacakra*;
It was You who drove out the sea of delusion;
It was You who protected the mystic wheel;"

"You are the Sage among the sages;
You are the Celestial Being among celestial beings;
You are the Teacher among teachers;
You are the meritorious One among the meritorious;"

"You are the beginning; You are the one without impurities; You are the Brahama; You are Hari;
You are the light; You are the leader; You are the path (of justice); You are the lord;
You are the compassion; you are the wealth; You are the knower; You are the sinless one;
You are the wisdom; You are the holiness; You are the self-restraint; You are the great person;"

"As they have been,

We worship (You), the Holy Person, seated under the sacred shade of the bo-tree, which hid the sky, and which had leaves in colours of coral, bright sun, emerald and green and which had big branches in green-gold (colour) to enable Cuntara cōḻar, the eminent king of Nantipuri, to live prosperously in this world, with liberality, comeliness and strength."

189.
1. *ātiyaṅ kaṭavuḷai yarumaṟai yarukaṉai*
2. *pōtiyaṅ kiḻavaṉai pūmicai yotuṅkiṉai*
3. *cētiyañ celvaniṉ ṟiruvaṭi toḻutaṉam;*

4. *kāmaṉaik kaṭintaṉai kālaṉaik kāyntaṉai*
5. *tēmalar māriyai tirumaṟu mārpiṉai*
6. *māmalar vaṇṇaniṉ malaraṭi vaṇaṅkutum;*

7. *āraruḷ payantaṉai yāḻtuyar tavirttaṉai*
8. *ōraru ḷāḻiyai yulakuṭai yoruvaṉai*
9. *cīraruṇ moḻiyainiṉ ṟiruvaṭi toḻutaṉam.*

"You are the Supreme Transcendent Being; You are the Rare Mystic Arhat; You are the Lord of the Bo-tree; You step on a flower; The Lord in the Caitya, we worship your sacred feet".

"You have overpowered Cupid; You have withered Death; You have honey flowers (poured like) rain; You have a mole on Your Breast; You of the colour of lotus flowers, we worship your sacred feet".

"You have given birth to rare compassion; You have removed deep distress; You have a unique wheel of mercy; You are the one lord of the world; You have the language of excellent mercy; we worship your sacred feet".

190.
1. *vāṭāp pōti marakatap pācaṭai*
2. *maraniḻa lamarntō ṉeñcam yārkkum*
3. *aruḷiṉ ṟīntē ṉiṟintunaṉi ñekiḻntu*
4. *malariṉu melli teṉpa vataṉaik*
5. *kāmar cevvi māraṉ makaḷir*
6. *neṭumā maḻaikkaṇ vilaṅkinimirn teṭutta*
7. *vāḷum pōḻntila vāyiṉ*
8. *yātō maṟṟatu melliya vāṟē.*

"The heart of Him who was seated under the shade of the non-withering emerald green leaves of the bo-tree, is said to be softer than a flower as it is full of sweet honey of compassion for everybody, further in a very melted (form). If it cannot even be pierced by the sword, raised by the earnest challenge of long, big, cool eyes of Mara's beautiful women, how then could it be considered soft?"

191.
1. *pācaṭai pōtip pēraruḷ vāmaṉ*
2. *varaiyā vīkai pōla yāvirum*
3. *koṭaippaṭu vīrak koṭaivalam paṭumiṉ*

4. *muṉṉa rorumuṟait taṉṉuḻai yiranta*
5. *aṉpi larakkarvēṇ ṭaḷavum paruka*
6. *eṉputoṟuṅ kaḻippittaṉ meytiṟantu vākkik*
7. *kurutik koḻumpataṅ koṭuttatu maṉṟik*
8. *kaṭuntuyarp paṭṭa kaḷḷap puṟaviṉ*
9. *māya yākkai colliya tāṟṟaṉ*
10. *uṭampu niṟuttuk koṭuttatu maṉṟi.*

"Let all of you be victorious in munificence as unlimited heroic donators resembling the unlimited gift of the Beautiful Man of great compassion, (situated) under the green leaves of the bo-tree. Not merely did he remove his bones and open his body and pour the rich drink of (His) blood into the pitiless *rākṣasas*, who once in antiquity requested this of him, for them to drink as much as they wanted. Not merely did he give, measuring His body (in the scales), when a false dove with an assumed body, (pretending to) suffer terribly, appealed (to Him)".

192.
1. *puṉiṟṟup paciyuḻanta pulippiṇavu taṉāatu*
2. *mulaimaṟāk kuḻavi vāṅki vāyppaṭut*
3. *tiraiyeṉak kavarntatu nōkki yāṅka*
4. *vēriḷaṅ kuḻavimuṉ ceṉṟu tāṉak*
5. *kūrukir vayamāṉ pulavuvēṭṭut toṭaṅkiya*
6. *vāḷeyiṟṟuk koḷḷaiyiṟ ṟaṅkiṉaṉ katuvap*
7. *pācilaip pōti mēviya peruntakai*
8. *āruyir kāval pūṇṭa*
9. *pēraruṭ puṇarccip perumai tāṉē*

"Having observed a tigress suffering from hunger, soon after delivery, trying to devour her cub moving towards her teats, drawing it to her mouth, the Noble-minded Person who sits under the bo-tree of green leaves, went forward before the tigress with sharp paws, to be made into flesh, to be tornby her sword-like teeth. This indicates greatness in addition to great compassion forhaving undertaken the protection of rare lives".

193.
1. *vēta mutalva vētami lakaṇita*
2. *tattuvar talaiva mutti mutalva*
3. *vaḻuvā ñāṉak kuḻuvuṭaṉ vantu*
4. *tuṉṉāp pāva maṉṉarai yavitta*
5. *taruma nēmip paramaṉeṉa viyantu*
6. *tuṉṉiṉa rāki miṉṉeṉa miḷirnta*
7. *takaimuṭi cāyttuc cattuvar vaṇaṅkupa*
8. *vakaimuṭi valviṉai vāṭuka veṉavē*

"The Beginner of the religious code; the Calculator of the non-vedic school; the Leader of the philosophers; the First to have liberation; The wise people, praising You as the Supreme Being with the wheel of *dharma* who came with a bunch of unfailing wisdom and conquered the enemy sinner kings, who being assembled and having bowed their worthy crowns, which shine like lightning, will worship you for the withering of the complete bond of strong karman".

194.
1. *ulumpiṉi vaṉattu ḷoṇkuḻait tēvi*
2. *valampaṭu maruṅkul vaṭunō yuṟāmal*
3. *āṉṟō ṉavvaḻit tōṉṟiṉa ṉātaliṉ*
4. *īṉṟō ḷēḻnā ḷiṉṉuyir vaittāḷ*

"As the Wise Man was born through the right waist, without injuring the queen, with shining ear-rings, at Lumbini forest, the mother was able to live well for seven days".

195.
1. *muṉṟāṉ perumaikka ṇiṉṟāṉmuṭi veytu kāṟum*
2. *naṉṟē niṉaintāṉ kuṇamēmoḻin tāṉṟa ṉakkeṉ*
3. *ṟoṉṟāṉu muḷḷāṉ piṟarkkēyuṟu tikku ḻantāṉ*
4. *aṉṟē yiṟaiva ṉavaṉṟāḷcara ṇaṅka ḷaṉṟē.*

"He maintained greatness (even) previously; He thought well till the end; He spoke virtue only; He never wished anything just for Himself; He always suffered for the benefit of the others; Is He not your Master? Are His feet not (our) refuges?"

196.
1. *aruṇeṟiyāṟ pāramitai yāṟaintu muṭaṉaṭakkip*
2. *poruṇmuḻutum pōtiyiṉkīḻ muḻutuṇarnta muṉivaraṉṟaṉ*
3. *aruṇmoḻiyā ṉalvāymai yaṟintavarē piṟapparuppār*
4. *maruṇeṟiyām piṟanūlu mayakkaṟukku māṟuḷatō*

"Those who knew the good truth from the compassionate preaching of the sage, who, through the path of benevolence, transcended all the thirty *pāramitā* together and who was fully enlightened (of the true nature) of the entire reality under the bo-tree, are those who will root out embodiment. Could there exist any possiblity of another delusionary scripture removing bewilderment?"

197.
*kaṇkoṭuttāṉ ṟaṭikoṭuttāṉ kayappulikkut taṟkoṭuttāṉ*
*peṇkoṭuttā ṉuṭampiṉaiyum piḷantiṭṭup piṟarkkīntāṉ*
*maṇkoṭuttāṉ makakkoṭuttāṉ maṉṉuntaṟ cērntārkku*
*viṇkotuttā ṉavaṉkoṭutta viritturaippaṉ kēḷeṉṟāḷ.*

"He gave up (His) eyes; He gave up (His) flesh; He gave up self to a vicious tigress; He gave up (His) wife; He cut open even (His) body and gave (it) to others; He gave up (His) kingdom; He gave up (His) children; He gave heaven to those who came to Him; listen to what I describe of (His) gifts".

198.
1. *eṇṇikanta kālaṅka ḷemporuṭṭāṉ mikavuḻaṉ*
2. *ṟeṇṇikanta vulakaṅka ḷiruṭīra voruṅkuṇarn*
3. *teṇṇikanta tāṉamuñ cīlamu mivaiyākki*
4. *yeṇṇikanta kuṇattiṉā ṉemperumā ṉallaṉō.*

"Was our Lord not he who suffered terribly countless times on our behalf; who attained total enlightenment to remove darkness from countless worlds; who gave countless gifts and sīlas; who has countless merits?"

199.
1. *tōṭā rilaṅku malarkōti vaṇṭu varipāṭa nīṭu tuṇarcēr*
2. *vāṭāta pōti neṟinīḻaṉ mēya varataṉ payanta vaṟanūl*
3. *kōṭāta cīla vatamēvi vāymai kuṇaṉāka nāḷu muyalvār*
4. *vīṭāta viṉpa neṟicērvar tuṉpa viṉaicērta ṉāḷu milarē.*

"Those who observe all the kinds of crookedness-less sīlas and practise truth daily as character, according to the book of *dharma*, bequeathed by the Benefactor, who was seated under the shade of the non-withering bo-tree, where bees reached to pluck (honey) from long clusters of flowers, which had shining petals, and hum music will attain the path of unending happiness; they will never have a day of evil karman".

200.
1. *eṇṭicayu māki yiruḷakala nūṟi yeḻutaḷirkaḷ cōti muḻutulaku nāṟi*
2. *vaṇṭicaikaḷ pāṭi matumalarkaḷ vēyntu maḻaimaruvu pōti yuḻainiḻalkoḷ vāmaṉ*
3. *veṇṭiraiyiṉ mītu virikatirka ṇāṇa veṟitaḻalkoṇ mēṉi yaṟivaṉeḻiṉ mēvu*
4. *puṇṭarika pāta namacaraṇa māku meṉamuṉivar tīmai puṇarpiṟavi kāṇār.*

"The sages who say that our refuge is the beautiful lotus-like feet of the buddha, whose body shines like glowing fire, putting to shame the spreading rays upon the white waves (of the sea), will never see (another) evil birth. The Supreme Being seated under the bo-tree, which touched the clouds, reaching all the eight directions and driving out darkness, producing buds emitting sweet fragrance throughout the world, and bearing honey flowers where bees hummed tunes".

201.
1. *aruntavarkaṭ kātiyā yaiya nīkki yavviyantīrt taviroḷicē rākkai yeyti*
2. *yiruntiraṭṭai yiṉamaruppiṉ yāṉai yūrti yīraiññūṟ ṟeḻiṉāṭṭat timaiyō ṉētta*
3. *voruṅkulaki ṉūlkaṟṟō rōta munnī roḷivaḷara vaṟampakarnta vuravōṉ pātam*
4. *karuṅkayaṟkaṭ kārikaiyār kāta ṉīkkik kaitoḻutāṟ kaiyalukuṅ kavvai tāṉē.*

"If women with carp-like dark eyes give up passion and worship with their hands the Strong Man's feet, anxiety will depart (from them). As the first among the sages, He removed their doubts, took away (their) deceit, and assumed a body with glittering light. While the celestial being with one thousand beautiful eyes, riding the elephant with superior ivory and a big thick trunk, was praising Him, while the educated in books in the world in unison chanted and while (even) the sea was becoming bright, (He) was teaching the *dharma*".

202.

1. *vīṭukoṇṭa nallaṟampakarnu maṉpataikkelām viḷaṅkutiṅka ṇīrmaiyāṉ virintilaṅku maṉpiṉōṉ*
2. *mōṭukoṇṭa veṇṇuraik karuṅkaṭaṟ ceḻuñcuṭar muḷaitteḻunta teṉṉalāy mukiḻntilaṅku cōtiyāṉ*
3. *nāṭukiṉṟa mūvakaippavaṅka ṭantukuṟṟamā ṉavaintaṭaṅka mūṉṟaṟutta nātanāṇ malart tuṇarp*
4. *pīṭukoṇṭa vārtaḷirp piṟaṅkupōti yāṉaiyem pirāṉai nāḷumēttuvār piṟappiṟap pilārkaḷē.*

"Those who praise our Lord daily will have no births and deaths. The Lord, who was seated under the bo-tree, which had clusters of fresh flowers and rows of pliable shining buds, had crossed the sought-after three forms of becoming, had subjugated the five kuṟṟams, and had cut the three. He was the visible and glittering Light, resembling the bright sun, sprouting and rising from the black sea with white waves rising high. Having taught good *dharma*, leading to liberation, He, with the nature of the bright moon, had expanding and glittering love for humankind".

203.

1. *paiṅkaṇvā ḷeyiṟṟiṉap pakaṭṭeruttiṉ vaḷḷukirp parūuttiraṭ kurūukkoṭāṭ pāluṭaic ceṉāvuṭaic*
2. *ciṅkavē ṟunāṉku tāṅka mītuyarnta cēyoḷic cittiraṅ kuyiṟṟi nāṟucempoṉā ṉācaṉattiṉmēṟ*
3. *koṅkunā ṟupōtu cintivāṉu ḷōriṟaiñciṭak kōtilāvaṟam pakarnta marntakōṉ kuḷirniḻaṟ*
4. *poṅkutā tukoppuḷitt tuvaṇṭupāṭu tēmalarp pōtiyempirā ṉaṭikkaṇ pōṟṟilvīṭa tākumē.*

"If praise is located at our Lord's feet, under the cool shade of the bo-tree, with honey flowers, where bees blow out the rising pollen and hum, there will be liberation. (He) was the King, who taught the blemishless *dharma*, while the celestial ones bowed before his golden seat, strewing fragrant honey flowers. The seat, going up, decorated with glittering pictures, and borne by four male lions, appeared. The male lion carriers had eyes fuming with anger and sharp teeth. Their broad thick sharp paws (created fear) about their indignation."

[The sense of the first line remains obscure, except for some phrases.]

204.
1. *kūrār vaḷaiyukir vāḷeyiṟṟuc ceṅkaṭ kolaiyuḻuvai kāypaciyāṟ kūrntavennōy nīṅka*
2. *ōrā yiraṅkatirpōl vāḷvirinta mēṉi yuḷamvirumpic ceṉṟāṅ kiyaintaṉainī yeṉṟāṟ*
3. *kārār tiraimuḷaitta cempavaḷa mēvuṅ kaṭimukiḻt taṇciṉaiya kāmarupūm pōti*
4. *ērār muṉivararkaḷ vāṉavartaṅ kōvē yentā yarōvuṉṉai yēttātār yārē*

"If it was told that You, liked, went and offered (Your) glittering body, equal to one thousand suns, to relieve the excruciating pain of burning hunger of the ferocious tiger with sharp curved paws, sword-like teeth, and red eyes, who will not praise You? The King of the celestial beings and sages under the attractive beautiful bo-tree, with recently sprouted cool branches, resembling red corals sprouting under dark waves (of the sea), You are our Father (or Mother)".

205.
1. *maṇiyilaku ceṟitaḷiro ṭalaroḷiya niḻalaraciṉ maruvi yaṟavōr*
2. *piṇiviravu tuyaramoṭu piṟavikeṭa vuraiyaruḷum periya varuḷōṉ*
3. *tuṇiyilaku cuṭaruṭaiya varacaroṭu piramartoḻu talaimai yavarmā*
4. *vaṇiyilaku kamalamala raṉaiyaveḻi laṟivaṉiṇai yaṭika ṭoḻuvām*

"Let us worship the Enlightened One's pair of feet, resembling big, beautiful, shining lotus (flowers). He has the leadership to be worshipped by Brahmas and kings with glittering decorations. He was the great Merciful Man, who sat under the shade of the bo-tree, with dense buds resembling gems, and shining flowers, and who teaches gracefully, the practitioners of the *dharma*, the end of rebirth and suffering associated with sickness".

206.
1. *maruḷaṟutta perumpōti mātavaraik kaṇṭilamāl eṉceykōm yām*
2. *aruḷirunta tirumoḻiyā laṟavaḻakkaṅ kēṭṭilamāl eṉceykōm yām*
3. *poruḷaṟiyu maruntavattup puravalaraik kaṇṭilamāl eṉceykōm yām*

"We have not seen the great enlightened sage, who has cut away delusion. What shall we do?

We have not listened to exposition of *dharma* through sacred compassionate speech. What shall we do?

We have not seen the patron of rare penance, leading to liberation. What shall we do?"

207.
1. *mātavā pōti varatā varuḷamalā*
2. *pātamē yōtu curarainī—tītakala*
3. *māyā neṟiyaḷippāy vāraṉ pakalāccīrt*
4. *tāyā yalakiru ṭāṉ*

"You repeat prayer (to) the feet of the Sage, the Enlightened Benefactor and the bondless Compassionate. Like an excellent mother with undiminished love, You preach gracefully the eternal *dharma* to sweep away darkness and to be rid of evil".

208.
1. *viḷaivāya pōtiyai yuṟumaḷavum viṉaimaṭiyāṉ*
2. *taḷarviṉṟi yōṭiya tāḷiṉā ṉallaṉō.*

"Was He not the one who had the feet, which ran without slackness, without perishing karman, till he attained the fruitful enlightenment?"

209.
1. *aṇitaṅku pōti vāmaṉ*
2. *paṇitaṅku pāta mallāṟ*
3. *ṟuṇipoṉ ṟilāta tēvar*
4. *maṇitaṅku pāta mēvār.*

"Celestial beings, who do not have the one final truth, will not adore gem-studded feet, but the decorated (with flowers) feet of the Supreme Being, (under) the beautiful bo-tree".

210.
1. *pōti nīḻaṟ*
2. *cōti pātaṅ*
3. *kāta lāṉiṉ*
4. *ṟōta ṉaṉṟē.*

"It is good to wait and repeatedly pray to the glittering feet (under) the shade of the bo-tree".

211.
1. *poruntu pōtiyil*
2. *irunta mātavar*
3. *tiruntu cēvaṭi*
4. *maruntu mākumē.*

"The lotus-red refined feet of the Sage who sat under the abiding bo-tree will also be ambrosia".

212.
1. *viṇṇavar nāyakaṉ vēṇṭak*
2. *kaṇṇiṉi taḷitta kātaṟ*
3. *puṇṇiya ṉirunta pōti*
4. *naṇṇiṭa nōynali yāvē.*

"As you reach the bo-tree, where the Virtuous sat, diseases will not cause pain. He has the compassion to give (His) eyes away with happiness , as requested by the king of the celestial beings".

213.
1. *toḻumaṭiya ritayamala rorupoḻutu pirivariya tuṇaiva reṉalām*
2. *eḻumiravi kiraṇanika rilakutukil puṉaiceytaru ḷiṟaiva riṭamām*
3. *kuḻuvumaṟai yavarumuṉi vararumari piramarura kavaṉu mevarum*
4. *toḻutakaiya vimaiyavaru maṟamaruvu tuticeyteḻu tuṭita puramē.*

"The *dharma*-abiding Tuṣitapuram where the *brāhmaṇas*, the sages, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, the Snake, and celestial beings worthy of everybody's worship eulogise and arise, is the residence of the Master who can be said to be the helper who never deserts even for a moment the flower-like heart of worshipping devotees, and who graciously wears his robe, resembling the rays of the rising sun".

214.
1. *vāṉāṭum pariyāyu mariṇamāyum vaṉkēḻaṟ kaḷiṟāyu meṇkāṟ puṇmāṉ*
2. *ṟāṉāyum paṇaiyerumai yorutta lāyum taṭakkaiyiḷaṅ kaḷiṟāyuñ caṭaṅka māyum*
3. *mīṉāyu muyalāyu maṉṉa māyu mayilāyum piṟavāyum velluñ ciṅka*
4. *māṉāyuṅ kolaikaḷavu kaṭpoy kāmam varaintavartā muṟaintapati māṉā vūrē.*

"Māṉāvūr is the city where He who abstained from killing, theft, alcohol, lying, and lust, even when He was a goodness- oriented horse, a deer, a strong male boar, an eight-legged bird-animal, a thriving male buffalo, a young male elephant with a large trunk, *caṭaṅkam*, a fish, a hare, a swan, a peacock, and in other forms, (including) the animal lion, resides".

215.
1. *mikkataṉaṅ kaḷaimāri mūṉṟum peyyum veṅkaḷiṟṟai mikucintā maṇiyai mēṉi*
2. *yokkavarint torukūṟṟai yiraṇṭu kaṇṇai yoḷitikaḻun tirumuṭiyai yuṭampi lūṉai*
3. *ekkiviḻuṅ kurutitaṉai yaracu taṉṉai yiṉṉuyirpōṟ ṟēviyaiyīṉ ṟeṭutta celva*
4. *makkaḷaivan tirantavarkku makiḻntē yīyum vāṉavartā muṟaintapati māṉā vūrē.*

"Māṉāvūr is the city where the Celestial being, who gives, with pleasure, to those who beg, lots of wealth, the fighting male elephant which causes three rains to fall, the rare mythical gem that could give everything its possessor wants, one-half of the body after having been cut into equals, two eyes, glittering sacred crown, flesh of the body, over-flowing blood, the kingdom, rare life-resembling wife and born- and raised precious children".

# 7.3. Texts and Alternative Translations of the Inscriptions on the Pedestals of Bronze Images

*Civacuppiramaṇiyam Patmanātaṉ*

The descriptive catalogue prepared by Irāmacantiraṉ, which forms the basic source material for the present study, is a work of remarkable scholarship. However, the monuments and the inscriptions on their pedestals deserve a more detailed examination on account of their importance as sources of information pertaining to the subject about which very little is known. Irāmacantira's interpretation and translation of most of the inscriptions are imperfect and misleading, probably on account of the fragmentary knowledge that was then available about matters pertaining to the Pautta monastic complex at Nākapaṭṭiṉam and the Pautta tradition in Tamiḻ society. The present paper consists of two parts. In the first part the expressions and epithets found in the inscriptions are analysed both lexically and in the light of contemporary usages and tradition. The second part is in the form of a corpus wherein the texts and revised translations of the inscriptions found on the pedestals of the images are included. Wherever necessary alternate translations are provided.

The stage of paleographical development represented in the epigraphs cannot be assigned to a period after the 14th century. Most of them seem to have been engraved in characters of the 11th and 12th centuries when the Pautta institutions at Nākapaṭṭiṉam flourished. On grounds of iconographic style most of the bronzes could be assigned to the middle and late Cōḻa periods.

*umaiyar tiruvāliyāḻvār nāyakar*

(1) "[The image of] the Leader [set up by] Umaiyar Tiruvāli *āḻvār*".
(2) "[The image of] the Leader [set up by] the Venerable monk from Tiruvāli".
(3) "[The image of the puttar set up by] the venerable monk from Tiruvāli, the leader".

2. *tārayar maṭamuṭaiyān*
"[The image of the puttar set up by] the head of the Tārayar monastery".

3. *nompiḷḷai nāyakar*
(1) "[The image of the puttar set up by] Nompiḷḷai, the leader".
(2) "[The image of] the leader [set up] by Nompiḷḷai".

4. *āttūr cāriputtira nāyakar*
(1) "[The image of the puttar set up by] Cāriputtirar of Āttūr, the leader".
(2) "[The image of] the leader [set up by] Cāriputtira(r) of Āttūr".

5. *araicar*
"[The image of] the Supreme Lord".

6. *nattan kūṭiyavāntāḷ nāyakar*
[The image of] the leader, the companion of the plebeians.

7. *eḻutum nampiḷḷai tēvar*
"[The image of] *tēvar* [set up by] Nampiḷḷai, the scribe".

8. *pirānāḻvār nāyakar*
(1) "[The image of] the Leader [set up by] Pirān *āḻvār*".
(2) "[The image of] the Leader, the exalted one, the foremost sage".

9. *svasti srī nittanamati nāyakar*
(1) "Hail Prosperity. [The image of the puttar set up by] Nittanamati, the Leader".
(2) "Hail Prosperity. [The image of] the Leader [set up by] Nittanamati".

10. *puttuṭaiyān perumāḷ nāyakar*
(1) "[The image of the puttar set up by] Puttuṭaiyan Perumāḷ, the Leader".
(2) "[The image of] the Leader, the enlightened sage".

11. *periyapillai nāyaṇār*
(1) "[The image of the puttar set up by] Periyapiḷḷai, the *nāyaṇār*".
(2) "[The image of] the *nāyaṇār* [set up by] Periyapiḷḷai".

12. *periyanācci nāyakar*
"[The image of] the Leader [set up] by Periyanācci".

13. *aḻuṭaiya nāyakar*
"[The image of] the Leader, the refuge [of the people]".

14. *cokkar*
"[The image of the puttar], the resplendent one".

15. *tiruvaraṅka nāyakar*
"[The image of the puttar set up by the head of the monastery], the Leader of Tiruvaraṅkam.

16. *pālan malai eti arai tēvar*
"[The image of] the *tēvar* [set up or dedicated by] Eti Arai of Pālanmalai".

17. *ariyarar nāyakar*
(1) "[The image of the puttar set up by] Ariyarar, the Leader".
(2) "[The image of] the Leader [set up by] Ariyarar".

18. *sāṟiyipiḷḷai nāyakar*
(1) "["[The image of the puttar set up by] Sāṟiyipiḷḷai, the Leader."
(2) "["[The image of] the Leader [set up or donated by] Sāṟiyipiḷḷai".

19. *āḷ uṭai piḷḷai*
"[The image of the puttar set up by] Āḻuṭaipiḷḷai".

20. *caṅkāṇṭāṉ nāyakar*
(1) "[The image of the puttar set up by] the Head of the *caṅkam*, the Leader"].
(2) "[The image of] the Leader [set up by] the Head of the *caṅkam*".

21. *naṅkaipiḷḷai nāyakar*
"[The image of] the Leader [donated by] Naṅkaipiḷḷai".]

22. *ānantar tēvar*
(1) "[The image of] the *tēvar* [set up or donated by] Ānantar".
(2) "[The image of] the *tēvar*, the one who attained the state of bliss".

23. *svasti srī tiruvinai turai periyamānāmar*
"Hail Prosperity. [The image of the puttar set up by] the Senior Mānāmar, the co-ordinator of sacred affairs (monastic activities)".

24. *cōṇāḻvika*
"[The image of the puttar set up by] Cōṇā, the head nun".

25. *aḻakiyāṇṭāḷ*
"[The image of the puttar set up or donated by] Aḻaki, the head nun".

26. *uṭaiyār*
"[The image of] the Lord".

27. *maṇṭapiḷḷai nāyakar*
(1) "[The image of the puttar set up by] Maṇṭapiḷḷai, the Leader".
(2) "[The image of] the Leader [set up or donated by] Maṇṭapiḷḷai".

28. *putta uttama nāyakar*
(1) "[The image of the puttar set up by] putta Uttamar, the Leader.
(2) "[The image of] the Leader [set up by] putta Uttama(r)".
(3) "[The image of] the Leader, the Supreme puttar".

29. *cōḻa perumpaḷḷi āḻvār*
(1) "[The image of the puttar set up by] the *āḻvār* of the Cōḻapperumpaḷḷi".
(2) "[The image of] the *āḻvār* [set up at] Cōḻapperumpaḷḷi".

30. *mānāḷ ciramaṇa ciri nāyakar*
"[The image of] the Leader [set up by] the nun Śrī Ramaṇa Śrī".

31. *nāyakapiḷḷai nāyakar*
(1) "[The image of the puttar set up by] Nāyakapiḷḷai, the Leader".
(2) "[The image of] the Leader [set up by] Nāyakapiḷḷai".

32. *talaimanai pūrvapiḷḷai nāyakar*
(1) "[The image of the puttar set up by] Pūrvapiḷḷai, the Leader of the first apartment".
(2) "[The image of] the Leader [set up by] Pūrvapiḷḷai of the first quarter".

33. *tukkai āḻvi*
(1) "[The image of the puttar set up by] Tukkai, the nun".
(2)[The image of the puttar set up by Tukkai Āḻvi".

34. *tanatapiḷḷai ca*
"[The image of the puttar donated by] Tanatapiḷḷai".

35. *umā nāyakar*
"[The image of] the Leader [donated by] Umā".

36. *turai āḻvi nāyaṉār*
(1) "[The image of the puttar set up by] the head nun of Turai".
(2) "[The image of] the *nāyaṉār* [donated by] Turai Āḻvi".

37. *utayapiḷḷai nāyakar*
(1) "[The image of the puttar set up by] Utayapiḷḷai, the Leader".
(2) "[The image of] the Leader [set up by] Utayapiḷḷai".

38. *etirinācci nāyakar*
"[The image of] the Leader [donated by] Etirinācci".

39. *ulakanātan*
(1) "[The image of] the saviour of the world (Ulakanātaṉ]".
(2) "[The image of the puttar set up by Ulakanātaṉ".

40. *atipattar nāyakar*
(1) "[The image of the puttar set up by] Atipattar, the Leader".
(2) "[The image of] the Leader [set up by] Atipattar".

41. *tarmasēnan*
"[The image of the puttar set up by] by Tarmasēnan.

42. *kuravar nāyakar*
(1)"[The image of the puttar set up by] the leader of the preceptors"[ie, the head of the *caṅkam*.]
(2) "[The image of the puttar], "the leader among teachers".

43. *periya pirānākarar*[30]
"[The image of the puttar set up by] the Senior Pirānākarar".

44. *camaya manatiṟ koḷḷuku tēvaperumāḷ eḻuntaruḷuvitta nāyakar*
"[The image of the] Leader set up by Tēvaperumāḷ, whose mind is set on the religion (Pauttam)".

45. *nampiḷḷai nāyakar*
(1) "[The image of] the Leader [set up by] Nampiḷḷai".
(2) "[The image of the puttar set up by] Nampiḷḷai, the Leader".

46. *puttaciṅka nāyakar*
(1) "[The image of the puttar set up by] Puttaciṅka(r), the Leader".
(2) "[The image of] the Leader [set up by] Puttaciṅkar".
(3) "The image of the Leader Puttaciṅka(r)".

47. *kavarāṇṭi*
"[The image of the puttar set up by] the mendicant with the forked (*kavar)* staff".

48. *caṅkāḻvi nāyakar*
"[The image of the puttar set up by] the head of the order of nuns".

49. *nampāṇṭāṉ nāyakar*
(1) "[The image of the puttar set up by] Nampāṇṭāṉ, the Leader".
(2) "[The image of] the Leader [set up] by Nampāṇṭāṉ".
(3) "[The image of] the Leader, the most exalted one".

50. *miḻakan nāyakar*
"[The image of] the Leader [set up by] Miḻakan? [the dealer in pepper]".

51.*kottāṇṭi tēvar*
(1) "[The image of] Kottāṇṭi tēvar".
(2) "[The image of] the *tēvar* [set up by] Kottāṇṭi".

52.*tirumāḷ iṭṭanar nāyaṉār*
"[This image of] the Leader [set up by] Tirumāḷ".

53. *poruḷar*
"[The image of puttar], the one who is the essence of everything".[3]

54. *puttapiḷḷaiyai uyakkoṇṭa nāyakar*
"[The image of] the Leader who redeemed Puttapiḷḷai".

55. *pālana āvana akattallarkaḷ nāyakar*
"[The image of] the Leader of those who have dispelled from their minds the thoughts about creation and sustenance".

56. *cokki nāyakar*
"(The image of] the Leader [set up by] Cokki".

57. *pālanan pūvaḷa nākarar*
"[The image of the puttar] the guardian, the source of fertility".

58. *māni*
"[The image of the puttar set up by] the young monk, (the student)".

59. *cēkalāyi nāyakar*
"[The image of the puttar set up by] the lady from Cēkal".

60. *āllattūr jyōtir*[4]
(1) "[The image of the puttar], the light of Āllattūr".
(2) "[The image of the puttar set up by] Jyōti of Āllattūr".

61. *cīrāviyān(a) nāyakar*
(1) "[The image of] the Leader of purified spirit".
(2) "(The image of] the Leader [set up by] the resident of Cīrāvi".
(3) "The image of the puttar set up by] the Leader of Cīrāvi".

62. *uyakkoṇṭa nāyakar*
"[The image of] the Leader who redeemed [those who sought salvation]".

63. *pēypiḷḷai nāyaṉār*
"[The image of] the Nāyaṉār donated by Pēypiḷḷai".

64. *kaṇavati āḻvār nāyakar*
(1) "[The image of the Leader set up by] Kaṇavati *āḻvār*".
(2) "[The image of the puttar set up by] Kaṇavati *āḻvār*, the Leader".

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[3] Our contention that *poruḷar* is an appelation of a puttar is supported by the description of him as *poruḷum nī* in a verse quoted by Peruntēvanār in his commentary on the vīracōḻiyam. Vide *poṉpaṟṟi kāvalar puttamittiraṉār iyaṟṟiya vīracōḻiyam peruntēvanār uraiyuṭaṉ*, pa 144.
[4] The appellation *jyotir* as found here may be compared with the expression *cōti nī* which is applied to a puttar. Vide *poṉpaṟṟi kāvalar puttamittiraṉār iyaṟṟiya vīracōḻiyam peruntēvanār uraiyuṭaṉ*, pa 144.

65. *cōḻaperumpaḷḷi nāyakar*[5]
(1) "[The image of] the Leader [set up at] the Cōḻapperumpaḷḷi".
(2) "The image of the puttar set up by] the *nāyakar* of the Cōḻapperumpaḷḷi".

66. *tēvappiḷḷai nāyakar aṇṭaṉ*
(1) "[The image of] the Universal [set up by] Tēvappiḷḷai, the Leader".
(2) "[The image of] the Leader, the Universal one, [set up by] Tēvappiḷḷai".

67. *kāṭan pāṭikar*
"[The image of the puttar set up by] the order of forest dwellers".

68. *cakala ākamapaṇṭitan uyyakkoṇṭa nāyakan*
"[The image of] the Leader proficient in all the doctrines, the one who redeemed [those in distress]".

69. *irācēntira cōḻapperumpaḷḷi akkacālaip perumpaḷḷi āḻvārkoyilukku eḻuntaraḷa āḻvār. ivvāḻvārai eḻuntaruḻuvittār ciṟutavūr nālāṅkunākara uṭaiyār. svasti śrī. patineṇviṣaiyattukkum akkacālaikaḷ nāyakar.*
"This image of the Lord is for festival processions at the temple of the *āḻvār* (puttar) attached to the Akkacālaip perumpaḷḷi of Irācēntira cōḻapperumpaḷḷi. This image of the Lord was set up by the venerable Kuṇakara IV of Ciṟutavūr.
Hail prosperity. [This image of the Lord was donated by] the superintendent of artisan manufactories for the [mercantile community called] *patineṇviṣaiyam*".

70. *tiruvuṭaiyār ammai akaḷaṅkap perumāḷ*
(1) "[The image of the Lord] *akaḷaṅkap perumāḷ* (puttar) [set up by] Tiruvuṭaiyār Ammai".
(2) "[The image of] the puttar [set up by] (the lady) Tiruvuṭaiyār Ammai [otherwise called] Akaḷaṅkap perumāḷ.[6]

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[5] The probability, here, is that the word *nāyakar* designates the rank of one who was the head of the monastic institution. It is unlikely that a metallic image is described as the *nāyakar* of Cōḻapperumpaḷḷi. Only the principal (stone) image enshrined in the temple could be so described.

[6] This text could be construed in two different ways on account of the ambiguity in the expression *akaḷaṅkap perumāḷ*. The word *akaḷaṅka*, which means faultless, forms part of the expression *akaḷaṅka mūrtti*, which is an epithet of the puttar. One of the Cōḷa kings and Parākramabāhu I (1153–1186) of Ilaṅkai had this epithet. *akaḷaṅkap perumāḷ* could be applied as an epithet not only to a puttar but also to any person of eminence. It could also be the personal name of a man or woman. It could therefore be an epithet or personal name of the lady called *tiruvuṭaiyār ammai*.

CHAPTER 8

# Summary and Conclusions

*Peter Schalk*

8.1. Buddhism among Tamils in Pre-Pallava Tamiḻakam—8.2. Buddhism among Tamils under the Pallavas—8.3. The Position of Jains and Buddhists Compared—8.4. Buddhism among Tamils in Īḻam—8.5. Pragmatic Endurance

## 8.1. Buddhism among Tamils in Pre-Pallava Tamiḻakam

During my search for Buddhism in Tamiḻakam I have not found any evidence for its existence in pre-Pallava Tamiḻakam. I have tested arguments for statements, which has been a useful exercise albeit leading to a negative result.

There is a popular explanation to the fact that there was no Buddhism or that Buddhism was weak in the pre-Pallava period. It states that royal patronage was refused. I have also made the same statement. There is a difficulty in the formulation itself. How can a statement that royal patronage was refused be tested? Kings or chiefs usually boast in inscriptions that they granted royal patronage to a temple/vihāra because they expect to gain merit in their next life and to gain support from the priest/monks whose task is to eliminate contingencies about their authority. It is hard to find an inscription in which a king or chief boasts about having refused patronage. There may be narratives that tell a story about a king or chief who refused royal patronage, but which narrative in Tamiḻ from the pre-Pallava period tells such a story?

There can be several reasons for the absence of a religious institution. If the reason is merely a refusal of patronage, positive evidence has to be produced for this negative decision to be plausible. This may be difficult, but not impossible. So, it is only by inference from later periods that we can conclude that patronage was also refused in the Pallava period. Inference, bordering on speculation, has of course not the same persuasive force as evidence.

There is another special difficulty regarding the statement that patronage was refused. Patronage was common in the pre-Pallava period, but it generally took the form of patronising individual bards. These bards did not represent a specific religion, but a common cultural value, the promotion of the heroism that was a matter of survival in this martial culture. Heroic deeds told about a

king or chief resulted in the generation of *pukaḻ*, "fame", which eliminated contingencies about the authority of the leader, who then had to lavish gifts on his bard. "The bard is a broker of fame, his currency the linguistic magic of the poem with its accompanying music", as David Shulman put it.[1] What I want to say is this: The explanation that royal patronage was refused should include the fact that the patronage of, for example, sanctuaries in the pre-Pallava period was not yet generally institutionalised. The practice was probably first introduced by Jains who were able to convince a few chiefs to patronise them. The infrequency of cases of patronage was in part due to the fact that its form was new. The fact remains, however, that we hear of a few Jains being patronised, but no Buddhists. Were they consciously deselected?

Let us now infer/conjecture the reasons why patronage was refused. There are three circumstances that make such an inference/conjecture plausible. 1. The martial culture of pre-Pallava society generated a religion that made an apotheosis of martial values and personified them in the cruel and demanding Koṟṟavai and precursors to the warrior god Murukaṉ. The authors of this martial religion were not priests, but bards serving warrior lords. Their interests were incompatible with non-violence and renunciation. True, these bards also borrowed from a post-Vedic Aryan tradition, but they consciously selected the martial traditions that we know from martial sections of the *Mahābhārata* and other post-Vedic traditions. These loans enforced their own martial tradition and did not reverse it into pacifism and renunciation. I do not agree with the view that pre-Pallava Tamiḻakam was a bastion of religious Vaidika traditions that resisted Buddhism. Martial thinking selected elements from martial Vaidika and post-Vaidika traditions. As Buddhism and Jainism counteracted these elements, they were not desirable to Tamiḻ war lords. We know that Jainism was marginalised, and evidently Buddhism was not even allowed on the margin.

A scholar has also pointed out that values like womanhood, motherhood and childhood were evaluated negatively by Buddhists and Jains, but were positive values among the Tamils.[2] This is at least partially relevant. It implies that Buddhism and Jainism were for ascetics only, but both religions also have a lay ethic that is compatible with womanhood, motherhood and childhood. There is, however, no compromising in these religions with martial traditions. I therefore see the basis of Tamiḻ xenophobia in the "anti-social" behaviour of the Buddhists and Jains who distanced themselves from the martial ideology of Tamiḻ pre-Pallava society.

So, both Jainism and Buddhism may have appeared to the Tamils as an alien religion that questioned fundamentals of their own value system. This was the beginning of xenophobia towards both Buddhist and Jainism that was promoted in the Pallava period. Buddhists and Jains were disliked simply because they were Buddhists and Jains.In modern terms this can be compared to inter-

[1] Shulman, "Poets and Patrons in Tamiḻ Literature and Literary Legend", pp. 92–93.
[2] SM, p. 197.

religious aversion such as we know in the West from mediaeval Christian anti-Semitism.

2. We know that attitudes towards Buddhists during the Pallava period were explicitly hostile for several reasons. One of them was that the enemies were came from Rāvaṇa's demonised island, and they were Buddhists. This hostility towards the demonised islanders may have also been valid for the pre-Pallava period, even if the pejorative concepts were different. The period was full of armed conflicts between the mainland and the island. This implies that Buddhists were marginalised and distanced because they belonged to a hostile and demonised country. There may have been a political context for the inter-religious xenophobia regarding Buddhists during the Pallava period. Buddhists were rejected because they were part of a population that was a threat to the national interest, as we would say today. This becomes explicit in the Pallava period. One scholar has rightly pointed out the rise of Tamiḻ national feeling during the Pallava period,[3] which also comes through in Campantar's hymns.

3. We have examples of Tamiḻ chiefs patronising Jains in the pre-Pallava period, but no example of chiefs patronising Buddhists. We would say today that Buddhists were "discriminated against". This may be due to the fact that Buddhists had a double obstacle to overcome: inter-religious xenophobia *and* political suspicion, or rather: xenophobia within a martial context. Although Jains were also exposed to xenophobia, they could not be connected with loyalties towards a hostile ruler in Karnāṭakam, from where they came in the pre-Pallava period. That only Jains were selected for patronage looks like a conscious deselection of Buddhists, who had a connection to powers that threatened the territorial integrity of Tamiḻakam. I am thinking especially of the island of Īḻam. We know that Jains in the Cōḻa period were verbally aggressive towards the Buddhists for doctrinal reasons, but probably also due to competition for patronage. We cannot exclude the possibility that the few Jains enjoying patronage during the pre-Pallava period looked after their own material interests by excluding Buddhists.

## 8.2. Buddhism among Tamils in Pallava Tamiḻakam

There were areas in Tamiḻakam that were not under the direct influence of the Pallavas before the middle of the 7th century AD. I refer to the coastal part of the Kāviri delta, the original home of the Cōḻas. There, we find the first evidence for the establishment of Buddhism in Kāvirippūmpaṭṭiṉam and the last traces of it in Nākapaṭṭiṉam. There too we find the main group of Pāli ācāriyas and the tērar mentioned by the patti-movement. Their era ended in about 650 AD when the Pallavas gained control of the area. It should also be recalled that

[3] Loc.cit.

when Campantar allegedly defeated the Buddhists, he did so in Pōtimaṅkai in the Cōḻa country where they lived. He did not fight Buddhists in Kāñci, in the centre of the Pallava territory.

The Cōḻar had evidently another more pragmatic religious policy than the Pallavas, who were strongly and wholeheartedly committed to a Vedic and post-Vedic tradition throughout this period. We can therefore slightly overstate the case and say that it was possible to establish Buddhism in Tamiḻakam not due to the Pallavas, but in spite of them, and mainly on the fringes of the territory they controlled. We need to revise the exaggerated role of Kāñci as bastion for Buddhists during the Pallavas, and to evaluate Xuanzang's role correctly as storyteller and folklore specialist.

## 8.3. The Position of Jains and Buddhists Compared

As to the Jains, they were rejected for three main reasons.

1. They had a "false" religion and their religious performance was repellent.

2. They competed with the Śaivas for royal patronage and allegedly even used violence to achieve their aim according to Śaiva sources. It was Campantar who coined the expression *vaṉ camaṇar*, "violent Jains"; these violent Jains are objectified in section 4.3.7. This fighting can be defined as an intra-state and inter-religious struggle for patronage.

3. Jains were also in a few cases representatives of inimical foreign territories. If we strictly limit ourselves to the Pallava period, we can only find some Caiṉa Kaṅkā rulers at war with the Pallavas, but these were pure dynastic and territorial feuds. There is only one occasion preserved in a Śaiva tradition of a foreign Jain conqueror of Maturai. This has been carefully described by Āḷvāppiḷḷai Vēluppiḷḷai in section 2.3.2.4. Cēkkiḻār points to an alien Jain ruler in Maturai. In his narrative about Mūrtti nāyaṉār, he mentions a *vaṭukak karunāṭar maṉṉaṉ*, "king of Karnāṭakam of the north", and also mentions that he conquered land by force of arms. This king decisively defeated the king of Tamiḻnāṭu and established himself in Maturāpuri. The story was repeated in the *kallātam*, which however, is dependent on Cēkkiḻār as a source. There is then only one independent source. This single case cannot be taken as the basis for a general theory about an inter-state conflict between the Śaiva Pallavas and foreign Jain rulers. The general picture is that Jain migration from the north was not part of a martial conquest, but of itinerant trade. Therefore Jains could not be seen as possible threats to the national interests of the Pallavas and of the Cōḻar.

The "repulsiveness" of the Jains was to a certain degree balanced by their attractiveness. The attractiveness of Jainism was twofold in my opinion. Firstly, Jainism took over Purāṇic mythology and the temple cult and never taught a doctrine like anātmavāda that was incompatible with a post-Vedic tradition. The step from Śaivism to Jainism was no great stride. At the same

time Jain merchants were rich, and consequently attractive, because of their itinerant and transnational trading. For a discussion of the first point see especially section 5.5.3. "Jainism Transformed through Influences of the patti-religion" by Āḷvāppiḷḷai Vēluppiḷḷai. It was this combination of Jain "intermarriage" and the anticipation of wealth that constituted a reconciliatory and compensatory element in the otherwise "disgusting" practices of the Jains. The nobility in particular had this kind of interest in the Jains. Jains also had a special strategy of ambiguity; thus leading the Śaiva party to believe that Jainism was compatible with and related to Śaivism.

If we also apply these three points to the Buddhists, we find that both were classified as liars (point 1), but the Jains were prepared to assimilate some of the Śaivas' truths. They both competed with the Śaivas for royal patronage (point 2), which was a threat to the economies of the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava temples and led to violent outbursts of intra-state conflict.

Buddhists under the Pallavas were presented by the patti-movement as *tērar*, which is a *taṟpavam* for *therā*. It refers to the Theravādins who were objectified and exposed to xenophobia by the patti-movement. The closest home of these tērar was the island. Some of them were probably Sinhalas, others were Tamils, but all used Pāli as their ritual language. I have mentioned some of them earlier as Pāli ācariyas in 4.1.2.3. These tērar were not known to have adapted themselves to Purāṇic mythology and to the temple cult and they have left no Tamiḻ inscriptions in Pirāmi like the Jains. They seem to have been alienated from Tamiḻ and Tamiḻ culture in their role as Pāli dhammadūtas. They did not apply the missionary strategy of Indian Buddhists in China, who took up Chinese religious concepts to redefine them in a Buddhist way. It was easier for Buddhists to win China than Tamiḻakam. The Pāli Buddhists seemed to live in a world of their own with roads to Īḻam and Rāmaññadesa, but not to their nearest Tamiḻ neighbours in Tamiḻakam.

Whereas Jains could compensate at least a little for their "unattractiveness", Buddhists during the Pallava period could only do so by promising wealth, and that was not sufficient for the Pallavas to pay attention to them in public. So, one reason for the Pallavas to deselect the Buddhists was that the latter showed an autonomy on the religious level that may have appeared arrogant to the Pallavas. They also had another reason to be their on guard when Buddhists came into their vicinity. Instead of forming a common front as victims, Jains and Buddhists fought each other for the privilege of patronage, which has been clearly shown by Āḷvāppiḷḷai Vēluppiḷḷai in sections 5.4.

There is also the remarkable fact that the kind of Buddhism that was later actively integrated by the Cōḻar into the royal establishment was not the uncompromising Pāli Buddhism of the tērar, but the Buddhism whose buddhology showed affinity to Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva theology. True, a second wave of tērar was endured in the Nākapaṭṭiṉam area, but they were not included as part of the royal establishment so well described by Civacuppiramaṇiyam Patmanātaṉ in sections 5.3. and by Irāmaccantiraṉ Nākacāmi in sec-

tion 2.1.8.2. One cannot compromise with uncompromising groups. So we have to distinguish between different kinds of Buddhists with different destinies in Tamiḻakam.

I am aware that Āḷvāppiḷḷai Vēluppiḷḷai in section 4.3.7. thinks that Campantar preferred Buddhists to Jains, but Campantar liked them better because they were better liars and therefore more destructive from within to the Buddhist cause. So, objectively, he actually disliked them more. The fact remains that while Jains were marginalised, Buddhists were undermined to such a degree that they could not survive as an institution after the 14th century. The reason for this is that Buddhists unlike Jains were regarded as a national threat in a protracted inter-state conflict that continued for centuries and that the tērar were not prepared to make any compromises in the most important of all matters, the sacred language. They insisted on preserving and using Pāli which led to a breakdown in communication in Tamiḻakam. The polarisation between Śaivas and Buddhist was so radical that Buddhism could only exist in the form of a Śaiva interpretation of Buddhism. In the 14th century this ended in its total assimilation into Śaivism. Buddhists never discovered the Jain way of developing a strategic ambiguity in ritual, doctrine, and art, which preserved their originality and at the same time attracted Śaiva intellectuals. Buddhists either insisted on distancing themselves from Tamiḻ culture like the Pāli ācāriyas, or on being assimilated by it like the Nākapaṭṭiṉam Buddhist saints. Both strategies contributed to their eradication, with long-term effects up to the present day. The number of Buddhists in modern Tamiḻnāṭu and Kēraḷam is indicated by a dash in the official census.

## 8.4. Buddhism among Tamils in Īḻam

Buddhism among Tamils is extremely complex if we consider the historical origins of different kinds of Buddhism.

1. There is a shared kind of Buddhism between Tamiḻ- and Prakrit-speaking groups, shared on the basis of language, in this case Prakrit. There was evidently co-operation between Tamiḻ-speaking and Prakrit-speaking groups with a common aim of establishing monumental Buddhism on the island around 200 BC and 300 AD, as described in section 3.3. Buddhism was embraced by Tamils from Īḻam in this period, when it had not yet been identified with cultural and "racial" characteristics of the Sinhalas. For Tamils to be integrated in society and state in the pre-colonial period, it was necessary for them to use Prakrit-Eḷu-Sinhala. They actually used Prakrit in the earliest documents. This Prakrit-Buddhism adopted by Tamils also includes the Buddhism described as "mercantile Buddhism" in Kantarōṭai and Vallipuram, as opposed to "hydraulic Buddhism" of the Sinhala-Pali tradition. For an explanation of this see section 2.2.2.1.

2. There is a conjecture that Yāḻppāṇam might have owed the beginnings of

its Buddhism to the then Tamiḻ-speaking Kēraḷam. For more about this see section 2.2.2.3.

3. There was a syncretistic Buddhist-Śaiva/Vaiṇava variant, known as Cōḻappauttam, that can be called Īḻaccōḻappautam when it arrived in Īḻam. It was not transmitted in Prakrit or Pāli, but in Tamiḻ. From the tenth century, documents in Tamiḻ referred to a type of Buddhism that was closely connected with the imperial Cōḻas from Tamiḻakam. This can rightly be called a special Tamiḻppauttam transmitted through several generations by mercenaries and merchants. It was already ideologically and ritually forged in the Cōḻa homeland and followed with the migrations of merchants and mercenaries. Caiva terms and concepts were used to expound on Pauttam. This was another start for Buddhism among Tamils, but there was no connection to earlier Prakrit-Buddhism among Tamils from this Īḻaccōḻappauttam. We cannot see any influence from Sinhala-Pāli Buddhism other than terms pertaining to localities in Īḻam. It was, however, not just a blue-print of Caiva/Vaiṇava concepts and sentiments. There is no indication that the puttar was regarded as bewildered as he was in the official Caiva state ideology, and the aggressive feelings towards Buddhism and Buddhists as we know them from Caiva and Caiṉa saints were of course suspended in this mainly Pautta surrounding.

This *cōḻappauttam* was also different from the Buddhism in the *vīracōḻiyam* and its commentary. In the latter, a clearly visible Mahāyāna buddhology was related consciously to Caiva concepts and sentiment as a way to indigenise Mahāyāna. In the former, the puttar was part of the Caiva or Vaiṇava pantheon and was selected as *iṣṭadevatā* for a group of people that shared a common locality.

Īḻaccōḻappauttam was a result of the intensive mercantile and martial interaction between the two territories. It had no chance to survive when the military and political conditions changed for the benefit of Pāli–Sinhala traditions. Īḻaccōḻappauttam was self-contained in relation to the Pāli–Sinhala tradition, but also short-lived. It was dependent on continued Cōḻa support and rejuvenation. It was specific in the sense that it was transmitted in Tamiḻ by Tamils in a former Sinhala-Buddhist surrounding that had been conquered. With the disappearance of Īḻaccōḻappauttam as a result of assimilation in the 14th–15th centuries there is nothing more to say about Buddhism among Tamils in Īḻam in the pre-colonial period. The accepted view that Tamils could be Buddhists is also counteracted by the later vaṃsa-tradition. The early *Mahāvaṃsa* had a special belief about the island being selected for the task of making the lamp of the *dhamma* shine out to the world, but there was no belief in the early "vaṃsic" history of the island that Buddhism was the religion of, and for, one ethnie only. Modern Sinhala ethnonationalism, however, based on prefigurations from the late Anurādhapura period, has broken with this inititial vaṃsa-tradition according to which Tamils could also become humans by taking over values of the buddhasāsana.

## 8.5. Pragmatic Endurance

I have emphasised the pragmatic thinking of both insular and mainland rulers. They could act against the interests of "fundamentalist", sectarian Caiva paṇṭitar and Buddhist monks. They could even support an "inimical" religion, if it was conducive to a superior cause. This kind of pragmatic thinking that reaches beyond religion and ideology is discernible throughout history. We can see it as an alternative way of encountering the other, a way that for a while allowed xenophobia to be suspended .

I have also identified two kinds of pragmatism. The first implied endurance of another faith and in some few cases even active support, not because of sympathy, but because of the prospect of profiting from this strategy. This was the approach of some Cōḻa rulers to other religions like Buddhism and Jainism. Their policy was not a policy of non-intolerance or of tolerance, but a policy of pragmatism. When in 2.1.1. Irāmaccantiraṉ Nākacāmi states that successive Cōḻa emperors—Cuntara Cōḻaṉ, Irācarācaṉ, Irācēntiraṉ, and Kulōttuṅkaṉ I—took a personal interest in Buddhism, we should not forget that he also states in the same paragraph that it should not be forgotten that they were all Caivas. None of them had a personal interest to the extend of conversion.

The second kind of pragmatism was not connected with endurance of another faith and still less with supporting it, but meant being prepared to focus only on those functions of a party from which profit could be expected. Consequently, it was possible to co-operate with a Buddhist king from Īḻam. Both parties agreed to suspend Buddhism and Śaivism in their relations and to focus only on co-operation in trade or war. This comes close to modern purposeful diplomacy.

Coming to the concept of pragmatic endurance, I consciously avoid the use of the 17th century concept of "tolerance" that is usually ascribed anachronistically to some rulers in pre-colonial societies all over the world. Sectarian commitment and pragmatic endurance were the two extremes between which rulers on both shores tried to position themselves throughout history. The Pallavas tended to be more committed to sectarian Caiva thinking than the Cōḻar, but there are also some examples of pragmatic Pallava thinkers. In Īḻam, we encounter a special difficulty due to a double set of historical writing. We have the vaṃsa-tradition that applies a sectarian measurement to rulers, and inscriptions written in the interests of the royal Courts. One and the same ruler can be described as committed to Buddhist sectarian thinking in the vaṃsa-tradition and as pragmatic in his inscriptions. This shows the ideological tension in which these rulers had to position themselves.

The alternative in pre-colonial Indian society to a religious commitment was not an anti-religious commitment, but pragmatic endurance of another religion, or even pure pragmatism that for a while and for a special purpose meant one's own and the other party's religion could be overlooked. This was usually for the benefit of all parties involved in a conflict.

CHAPTER 9

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CHAPTER 10

# List of Illustrations

Map of Tamiḻakam and Īḻam drawn by Tiru Aruḷ Vēluppiḷḷai on instructions by Peter Schalk.

1. Picture on the protective cover for Part 1 and 2. Mutilated image of a Cōḻa puttar in stone from Kāñci. By courtesy of the ASI [=B 318].
2. Photograph in section 1.4.7. of a Cōḻa stone image showing a seated buddha with moustache integrated into Caiva worship. Maṅkalam, Tiruchirapaḷḷi. By courtesy of Tiru B Jambulingam.
3. Photograph in section 1.4.7. by Peter Schalk from 1992 of a buddha integrated into Caiva worship in a temple in Tamiḻakam.
4. Photograph in section 2.2.10. of a sitting bronze image of a buddha with aureole. M Raman, *Select Bronzes in the Madras Museum*, p. 28.
5. Photograph in section 2.1.8.1. of Maitreya from Nākapaṭṭiṉam. *The Image*..., no. 91, p. 130. See also M Raman, *Select Bronzes in the Madras Museum*, p. 33.
6. Photograph in section 2.1.8.1. of a standing buddha in bronze from Nākapaṭṭiṉam. *The Image*..., p. 127, See also Ramachandran, *The Nagapattinam*..., Plate V.
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28. Photograph in section 6.2.2. of the inscription from the Apaiyakiri vikāram. By courtesy of Civacuppirmaṇiyam Patmanātaṉ.

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Studies about Buddhism in Tamiḻakam and Īḻam have a long tradition among South Asian scholars. The references in this volume also reflect this academic tradition, which differs from the Western academic critical-historical and philological tradition. This book is, then, not only about Buddhism in Tamiḻakam and Īḻam; it is also about current South Asian scholarship on Buddhism in Tamiḻakam and Īḻam. The attempts by South Asian scholars like Āḷvāppiḷḷai Vēluppiḷḷai, Civacuppiramaṇiyam Patmanātaṉ, Irāmaccantirāṉ Nākacāmi, and Turaicāmi Tayāḷaṉ to encounter and overcome these differences are very important. The collaboration with a number of South Asian scholars has proved very fruitful in Uppsala and has resulted in a number of projects, workshops, and publications.

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